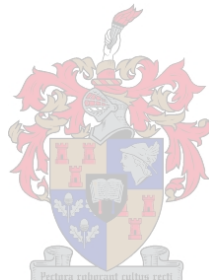


**Work Value Change in South Africa:  
Its Nature, Direction and Distribution Between 1990 and 2001.**

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Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of  
Philosophy (Value Analysis and Policy Formulation) at the University of Stellenbosch



Supervisor: Professor H.J. Kotzé

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## **Declaration**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

## Abstract

Recent literature on values suggests that advanced, industrial societies are displaying a marked shift away from traditional values that stress material prosperity, physical and economic security towards values that are more expressive of individual freedom, autonomy and growth. According to Inglehart, forces of modernisation and globalisation have initiated a number of systemic level changes, that have ushered in processes of objective and subjective individualisation, dramatically altering the nature and structure of human value orientations and societal norms.

Work values, as expressions of general life values in the work context, are no exception to this process. In the new world of work, intrinsic work values that stress personal growth, development and self-determination should gradually replace extrinsic work values such as good pay, job security and status. An understanding of the nature, direction and distribution of such value change could prove invaluable to the organizational practitioner and policy maker, since work values play a pivotal role in shaping organisational structure, process and policy.

According to Inglehart, a number of developing countries are displaying similar shifts towards individualised values. Although classified as a middle-income, developing economy, South Africa has undergone a number of prolific economic, political and cultural changes over the last decade that would undoubtedly have altered the nature, direction and distribution of work values in the country.

It is in the light of these political, economic and cultural developments that the current study embarked on an analysis of the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. The analysis was informed by the proposition that the work values of South Africans citizens should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001. South Africans have, however, been exposed to and socialized within vastly different social, economic and political environments. The study has therefore taken cognisance of the fact that work value change in South Africa should reflect the stark cleavages and differences that exist within the population, and attempted to plot the differences in the nature and direction of work values between the various social categories defined by race, gender, educational and occupational level.

The secondary analysis of survey data from the South African components of the 1990, 1995 and 2001 World Values Survey was performed in order to fulfil the objectives of the study. Work values of South African citizens were measured in terms of four dimensions, namely work centrality; work values relating to the distribution of power in the organization; work values relating to work preferences; and work values relating to authority systems in the workplace. Use was made of simple uni-variate and bi-variate analysis, as well as the comparison of means where appropriate.

The results of the analysis suggest that work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organisation have become increasingly individualised. Work values relating to work preferences and authority have, however, displayed a trend in opposition to individualisation. Comparisons of work value change across the various sub-groups of the population reflect the changing economic, social and political landscape of South Africa. The data suggests that as various sub-groups of the population are exposed to the systemic level changes characteristic of the new South Africa, traditional value differences informed by race, gender, educational and occupational level will be gradually transformed and replaced by new value patterns untainted by the inequalities of the apartheid era.

The analysis concludes by examining a number of explanations for the value changes described, and attempts to infer implications for the formulation and implementation of workplace policy and practice in South Africa. The high and increasing levels of unemployment and the increasing participation of women and previously excluded racial groupings into the South African labour market have increased perceptions of job insecurity in South Africa and have resulted in an expanding number of South Africans placing increased emphasis on traditional work preferences and systems of authority. Should this trend persist, the development of individualised work values will continue to be hindered, rendering the South African business environment less competitive and increasingly fraught with high levels of distrust and uncertainty. We suggest, therefore, that human resource practitioners and policy makers embark on the challenging task of reframing individual perceptions surrounding the meaning of work in South Africa, so as to better prepare South Africans for the challenges brought about by the new world of work



## Opsomming

Onlangse literatuur oor waardes dui daarop dat vooruitstrewende industriële gemeenskappe 'n merkbare verskuiwing toon weg van tradisionele waardes wat materialistiese welvaart, tasbare en ekonomiese sekuriteit beklemtoon, na waardes wat groter klem lê op individuele vryheid, outonomie en ontwikkeling. Volgens Inglehart het kragte van modernisering en globalisering 'n aantal sistemiese veranderinge teweeg gebring wat op hul beurt prosesse van objektiewe en subjektiewe individualisasie ingelei het en wat aanleiding gegee het tot 'n dramatiese verandering in die aard en struktuur van menslike waarde-orientasies en gemeenskapsnorme.

Werkwaardes as uitdrukking van algemene lewenswaardes in die werkkonteks is nie 'n uitsondering in die proses nie. In die nuwe wêreld van werk behoort intrinsieke waardes wat persoonlike groei, ontwikkeling en selfbeskikking beklemtoon, geleidelik ekstrasieke waardes soos goeie besoldiging, werksekuriteit en status te vervang. 'n Begrip van die aard, rigting en verspreiding van sodanige waarde-verandering kan van onskatbare waarde wees vir die organisatoriese praktisyn en beleidmaker aangesien werkswaardes 'n sentrale rol speel in die vorming van organisatoriese struktuur, prosesse en beleid.

Volgens Inglehart vertoon 'n aantal ontwikkelende lande 'n soortgelyke verskuiwing na geïndividualiseerde waardes. Alhoewel Suid-Afrika as 'n middel inkomste ontwikkelende ekonomie geklassifiseer word, het dit die afgelope dekade 'n verskeidenheid van ekonomiese, politieke en kulturele veranderinge ondergaan wat ongetwyfeld die aard, rigting en verspreiding van werkswaardes beïnvloed het.

Met hierdie politieke, ekonomiese and kulturele ontwikkelinge as agtergrond, onderneem hierdie studie 'n analise van die aard, rigting en verspreiding van die verandering in werkswaardes in Suid-Afrika tussen 1990 en 2001. Die analise is in die veronderstelling dat die werkswaardes van die Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap 'n verskuiwing in die rigting van geïndividualiseerde werkswaardes sal weerspieël tussen 1990 en 2001.

Suid-Afrikaners is egter blootgestel aan verskillende sosiale, ekonomiese en politieke omgewings. Die studie neem dus kennis van die feit dat werkswaarde-veranderinge in Suid-Afrika die skeiding en verskille wat voorgekom het in die bevolking sal weerspieël en poog om die verskille in die aard en rigting van werkswaardes te demonstreer tussen die verskillende kategorieë gedefinieer volgens ras, geslag, opvoedings- en beroepsvlak.

Die sekondêre analise van opname data van die Suid Afrikaanse komponente van die 1990, 1995 en 2001 "World Values Survey" is ontleed ten einde uitvoering te gee aan die doelstellings van die studie. Werkwaardes van Suid-Afrikaners is gemeet aan die hand van vier dimensies, nl. werksentraliteit; werkswaardes wat verband hou met die verspreiding van mag in die organisasie; werkswaardes wat verband hou met werksvoorkeure, en werkswaardes wat gerig is op gesagstelsels in die werkplek. Gebruik is gemaak van enkelvariëansie en dubbelvariëansie analise asook die vergelyking van middelpunt, waar van toepassing.

Die resultate van die ondersoek dui daarop dat werkswaardes wat verband hou met werksentraliteit en die verspreiding van mag in die organisasie toenemend geïndividualiseerd geraak het. Werkwaardes verwant aan werksvoorkeure en gesag demonstreer egter 'n duidelike neiging in stryd met individualisasie. Vergelyking van werkswaarde-veranderinge oor die verskillende sub-groepe van die bevolking weerspieël die veranderende ekonomiese, sosiale en politieke landskap van Suid-Afrika. Die data dui aan dat soos verskillende sub-groepe van die bevolking blootgestel word aan die sistemiese-vlak veranderings eie aan die nuwe Suid-Afrika,

tradisionele waarde-verskille as gevolg van ras, geslag, opvoeding- en beroepsvlak, geleidelik sal verander en vervang word deur nuwe waarde-oriëntasies onbevlek deur die ongelykhede van die apartheids-era.

Die analise sluit af deur 'n aantal verduidelikings vir die waarde-veranderings te ondersoek en poog om implikasies af te lei vir die formulering en implementering vir werkplekbeleid en praktyk in Suid-Afrika. Die hoë en steeds toenemende vlakke van werkloosheid, die toenemende toetrede van vrouens en voorheen benadeelde rasse-groepeerings tot die Suid-Afrikaanse arbeidsmark het die persepsie van lae werksekuriteit in Suid-Afrika verhoog en het tot gevolg dat 'n toenemende aantal Suid-Afrikaners groter klem plaas op tradisionele werksvoorkeure en sisteme van gesag. Sou die tendens voortduur, sal dit die ontwikkeling van geïndividualiseerde werkswaardes belemmer, wat tot gevolg sal hê dat die Suid-Afrikaanse besigheidsomgewing minder kompetend sal wees, met toenemende vlakke van wantroue en onsekerheid. Ek stel dus voor dat menslike hulpbronnepraktisyns en beleidsmakers begin met die uitdagende taak om individuele persepsies te beïnvloed met betrekking tot die betekenis van werk in Suid-Afrika ten einde Suid-Afrikaners beter voor te berei vir die uitdagings daargestel deur die nuwe wêreld van werk.

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*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*

*A person is only a person because of other people (Zulu proverb).*

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

*Individualization is here to stay; all thinking about the means to deal with its impact on the way we conduct our lives must start from acknowledgement of this fact (Bauman, 1999 as cited in Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: XIX).*

### 1.1) Introduction

Recent literature on values reveals a marked shift in the nature and direction of major life values. Research indicates that advanced industrial societies<sup>1</sup> are showing a distinct shift away from more traditional secular-rational values that stress material prosperity, physical and economic security, towards values that are more expressive of individual freedom and growth (Inglehart, 1990). Processes of industrialisation and globalisation, coupled with the expansion of the welfare state have launched these societies on a path of rapid economic development, vastly improving the economic and physical conditions of the younger birth cohorts. Furthermore, processes of modernisation have effected significant changes within the social, political, and cultural landscape; ushering in a process of objective and subjective individualisation, where the individual becomes emancipated from traditional bonds associated with class and gender.

These processes of modernisation and individualization are not exclusive to advanced-western democracies (Inglehart and Baker, 2000:19; Castells, 1997:149). A number of non-western societies, such as East Asia, have exceeded their Western counterparts in key areas of modernisation, propelling them on a path of rapid development. Similarly, most developing countries included in the World Values Survey have displayed some movement away from survival values towards values reflective of self-expression (Inglehart and Baker, 2000: 41).

These processes of individualisation will eventually lead to value change in all major life domains. Work values, as an expression of general life values within the work context, are no exception to this process.

An understanding of the importance and meaning of work in the lives of individuals, and the role that work plays in shaping and defining organisational as well as societal goals and institutions should not be underestimated. An appreciation of work values and how these values translate into individual and collective action and subsequently inform organisational structure, process

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<sup>1</sup> Societies where the agricultural and industrial sectors of the economy are gradually being replaced by the service sector and the information processing sectors (Van Deth and Scarbrough, 1995:18).

and policy could prove invaluable to the organisational development practitioner, human resource manager or policy-maker.

Work values influence organisational policy in a number of areas. Industrial democracy; leadership and management philosophy; company ownership and control; communication policy; workplace ethics; motivation and incentive schemes are all dependent on the articulation of work values into organisational behaviour and practice (Theron, 1993). Furthermore, the importance of work values within the context of cultural diversity has lead to a proliferation of research on the topic. The forces of globalisation and internationalisation compel firms to establish multi-national operations, thus opening the workplace to an array of different cultures and value orientations. Legislation accelerating the entry of women and minority groups into the labour-force further supports this trend towards a more culturally diverse workforce (Cox, 1994:4).

The importance of work values is, however, not exclusively confined to the workplace. Work provides individuals with a frame of reference, a source of identity, it structures time and “lends itself to legitimise socially biographic phases” such as education, training, work-life and retirement (Harding and Hikspoors, 1995:441). Furthermore, the importance and meaning of work in the life of an individual shapes and defines the nature and importance attached to other life domains such as family, friends, acquaintances and leisure.

Work values are of particular importance in a multi-cultural society like South Africa. Over the last two decades, numerous internal and external forces have altered the nature and structure of the South African society, resulting in a vast array of human values that are of particular significance in the workplace. As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, forces of globalisation and internationalisation have exposed South Africa to the numerous new challenges of cultural diversity such as race, language, religion and gender issues (Booyesen, 1999:25). On the domestic front, affirmative action and equal opportunity programs have opened up the workforce to previously excluded groups of the population, prompting Booyesen to argue that “the two most prevalent changes that the management corps and workforce of South Africa have undergone are the advancement of Black Africans and the advancement of women” (Booyesen, 1999: 26).

Although South Africa cannot be described as an advanced industrial society, and may, as a result, deviate from the predominant value patterns displayed by the majority of western democracies, the country has experienced a decade of prolific economic, political and cultural

change. The majority of these changes have propelled South Africa on a path towards greater economic and social development, and should affect a process of value change in the direction of individualisation.

The present study shall attempt to describe whether work values in South Africa have changed in the direction of more modern, individualised work values during the period 1990 to 2001. The theory of value change identifies a number of systemic changes at the level of economy and society that should initiate a value change in the direction of individualised work values. As mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, South Africa has been subjected to a number of economic, political, cultural and social changes over the last decade that have significantly altered the nature and structure of society and economy. What kind of work value patterns can be expected, and in what direction are these changes likely to occur? Are there differences in the rate, nature and direction of work value change between the various social categories defined by gender, race, educational and occupational level?

## **1.2) Theoretical background to the study**

### **1.2.1) Industrialisation, modernisation and individualisation**

Modern, advanced industrial societies have endured a period of significant social change, brought about by changes in the global economy and advancements in the fields of technology and informatics. These changes have ushered in a wave of modernisation throughout the world, characterised by processes of rapid industrialisation, commercialisation, informationalisation, professionalisation, rationalisation and secularisation (Inglehart and Baker, 2001:17). Accompanying these processes of modernisation are a multitude of systemic changes such as rapid economic development, rising levels of education, a re-definition of gender roles, decreasing fertility rates, changing attitudes towards authority and broader political participation. These systemic level changes ultimately induce congruent changes at the individual level of subjective experience that incorporates human values and societal norms (Inglehart, 1977:4).

In the light of the current context it is, however, crucial to view individualisation as a process or trend characteristic of both the first modernity and the second modernity. The first modernity, characterised by industrialisation and the logic of structures, instituted a process of “Enlightenment Individualism” or the “institutionalised individualism of property, contract, the bourgeoisie family, civil society and the philosophy of Right” (Lash, as cited in Beck and Beck-

Gernsheim, 2001: viii). In the first modernity, society is largely viewed as a linear system, with single points of equilibria that can only be disturbed through external forces, which ultimately induce system change.

The second modernity, characterised by informationalisation and the structure of flows, instituted a process of reflexive individualisation that is based on the notion of non-linear systems. According to Lash (as cited in Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: viii) in the second modernity “system dis-equilibrium and change is produced internally to the system through feedback loops” and is a result of the “retreat of the classic institutions of state, class, nuclear family and ethnic group.”

Accordingly then, individualisation can be described as a process, initiated at the advent of industrialisation and intensified through processes associated with the second modernity.

According to Inglehart (2001) value differences amongst societies can emerge on 2 dimensions, namely the traditional and secular-rational orientations and the survival and self-expression orientations. Traditional societies can be described as those societies that are relatively authoritarian, strongly religious and display strong tendencies towards pre-industrial values, while secular-rational societies display the opposite. Processes of industrialisation have induced changes along this dimension, since modern, industrialised societies reflect greater tendencies towards secular-rational values than the more traditional societies.

The survival vs. self expression dimension reflects the polarization between materialist and post-materialist values. Post-materialist values that emphasise environmental protection, women's rights and increased participation in both economic and political life, are becoming increasingly evident in post industrialised societies that are largely dependent on informationalisation and the knowledge economy.

Beck (1992:128) argues that processes of modernisation initiate a process of “triple individualisation” where the relation between individual and society is systematically re-defined. The first phase of individualisation is associated with the emancipation of the individual from traditionally significant forms of security and control, and occurs at the objective level of individual experience. This phase is followed by the realisation that traditional systems of knowledge are no longer compatible with the objective life-situation of the individual, and occurs at the subjective level of values and norms. The process is completed when the individual

embarks on a “re-integration of control” phase, which is concerned with the search for more compatible forms of knowledge, values and norms.

Similarly, Inglehart (1997:51) proposes a theory of value change that occurs on two levels, namely the system level (objective level) and the individual level (subjective level of values and norms). System level changes initiate two types of value change at the individual level. Short-term value change is explained through the use of the scarcity hypothesis, which states that “people tend to place high priority on whatever needs are in short supply” (Inglehart, 1990:56). Systemic changes that initiate short-term value change include economic indicators such as inflation rate and the short-term effects of unemployment.

Long-term value change, on the other hand, is brought about by cohort effects and is explained through the socialisation hypothesis, which states that “to a large extent, one’s basic values reflect the conditions that prevailed during one’s pre-adult years (Inglehart, 1990:56). Systemic level changes that initiate long-term value change include economic and technological development, rising levels of education, distinctive cohort effects, the expansion of the mass media and changes in the nature and structure of work and occupation. Similarly, Harding and Hikspoors (1995:447) argue that changes in the cultural/religious traditions; societal policies and workplace practices; family, school and vocational socialisation and the work experience will all contribute to work value change.

Advanced industrialised societies have been exposed to a number of social, economic and political changes that support the trend towards individualism.

In the social arena, primary relations have been drastically altered due to the decline of the patriarchal family. The traditional patriarchal family amplified the division of labour upon which early forms of industrialisation were dependent. The advent of post-industrial society, however, required an increase in social mobility, which facilitated the entry of women into the labour market. This trend, coupled with the expansion of educational opportunities to women and the sexual liberation movement, substantially increased the bargaining power of women, undermining the very foundation on which the patriarchal family is based (Castells, 1997:134). Post-industrial society severs the traditional connection between the individual and the patriarchal family, liberating the individual to seek new forms of social inclusion and security. According to Beck (1992:95) increased levels of education, the expansion in opportunities for social mobility and the “democratisation of formerly exclusive types of consumption and styles



of living”(Beck, 1992:95) have substantially reduced the dependence of individuals on the historically significant group.

The economic arena has also been significantly transformed by a number of systemic level changes. Processes of globalisation and informationalisation have given rise to a new economy characterised by a dependency on its ability to “generate, process and apply efficient knowledge-based information” (Castells, 1996: 77). Traditional factors of production such as labour, capital and natural resources become subordinate to highly specialised forms of knowledge. The new “knowledge economy” differs from its industrial antecedent due to its global nature, where circuits of production, consumption and distribution are organised across highly interdependent global business networks (Castells, 1996:164). Furthermore, the growing proportion of GDP allotted to the service sector is characteristic of a new economy where a focus on material consumption and productivity are replaced by a concern for profitability and added value tailored to the individual need (Castells, 1996:81).

The new knowledge economy has initiated a number of changes within the world of work (Beck, 1992; Beck, 2000; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001:60), rendering traditional definitions of wage labour, organisation and career inapplicable. In industrial society, the nature and character of society was largely shaped by the nature and character of family and work. The nature and structure of wage labour largely influenced the distribution of power, status and social welfare, and work proved pivotal in delineating the stages of an individual’s life cycle (Beck, 1992:139). Work was seen as an instrument with which to predict, control and stabilise the future, thereby raising the “overall ethical standards of society” and facilitating the “moral self-improvement” of the individual (Bauman, 2000:137).

The forces of modernisation, globalisation, informationalisation and commercialisation have however, effected major changes in the nature and structure of wage labour, resulting in a related transformation of society. During the industrial period, a largely standardised labour system was regulated through a labour contract that clearly stipulated task and working hours. Work was conducted within specific “spatial concentrations” and a clear distinction between work and non-work was maintained. The advent of information technology facilitated the emergence of business networks that could transcend the limits of space and time, resulting in an increase in the number of part-time, home and flexi-time workers (Beck, 1992:142).



This “temporal and spatial flexibilisation of wage labour” (Beck, 1992:143) holds profound implications for conventional concepts of occupation and organisation. The concept of “organisation man/woman”, where loyal employees remain with an organisation for the entirety of their economically active lives in order to climb the proverbial career ladder is vanishing fast. It is replaced by a breed of employees who are increasingly loyal to their professions and hold the organisation liable for providing them with the necessary resources to facilitate individual growth and development. Long-term unemployment and alternative working conditions such as flexitime, part-time and self-employment indicate a trend towards decreasing job stability and security (Harding and Hikspoors, 1995:441).

The new service economy demands the management and utilisation of highly specialised knowledge systems (Drucker, 1993:66). The emphasis that was traditionally placed on the production, distribution and consumption of material objects has been replaced by a focus on services. As a result, service and knowledge workers increasingly deal with people and symbols, rendering communication and information processing paramount. The hierarchical organisation of the industrial age required little creativity and autonomous judgement on the part of the employee. The nature of service and knowledge work, however, requires that the freedom and autonomy of the individual employee be radically extended (Inglehart and Baker, 2000:22).

The changes occurring at the systemic level of objective experience induce a similar change at the individual level of values and norms. Modernisation has brought about vast improvements in the standard of living of a large percentage of the world population, providing them with the resources necessary to liberate themselves from traditional class identities and “uprooting” them from the “bonds and barriers” historically associated with the family, neighbourhood, culture and occupation (Beck, 1992:87). These de-traditionalised individuals are no longer dependent on traditional institutions, roles and structures for successful and meaningful interaction in the world and are charged with the autonomy to develop their own values and norms, which increasingly differ from traditional, institutionalised value systems (Inglehart and Baker, 2001). The individual becomes immersed in a world where self-determination and self-regulation become the cornerstones of the post-modern era.

Furthermore, processes of globalisation and informationalization have substantially reduced the predictable nature of the life-world. Human-kind has been plunged into a state of constant motion and flux where endless possibilities for human thought and action render the strife for perfection and control over the future mere illusions (Beck, 1992:90). Individualism therefore

consists of “transforming the identity of the individual from a ‘given’ into a ‘task’ and charging the actors with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences of their performance” (Bauman, 2000: 31).

Processes of modernisation, industrialisation, globalisation and internationalisation have drastically altered the objective reality in which we find ourselves, forcing us to alter our subjective interpretations of the life world. The new economy has induced a multitude of changes in the world of work, which require individuals to re-define the meanings they ascribe to employment, organisation and work. This process of re-definition requires the espousal of a new set of values, congruent with the objective reality of the world of work. Over the past decade, a number of South Africans have been exposed to a new objective reality (discussed in subsequent sections), which will undoubtedly require the modification of existing value systems.

### **1.2.2) Value change**

Research suggests that these processes of objective and subjective individualization have significant implications for the nature and structure of human value systems (Inglehart 1977, 1990, 1997; Inglehart and Baker 2000, 2001). Processes of objective individualisation involve disembedding the individuals identity from that of the historically significant group; thereby rendering individuals more egocentric, a-historical and private, with an increasing dependency on an internal locus of control. A culture of competition, achievement and advancement becomes paramount in a society where individual interest is placed above that of the group. Consequently, individuals are increasingly plagued by feelings of inadequacy, guilt, anxiety, aggression and failure (Bauman, 2000: 36).

Similarly, research indicates a shift in the direction of a more individualistic value orientation towards work. Harding and Hikspoors (1995:444) and Zanders and Harding (1995:195) propose an increase in work values that stress personal growth, development and self-determination and a decrease in work values that emphasize material success, comfort and status. Zanders (1993), using data from the European Values Survey, conducted a time-series study of work value change within 14 European countries<sup>2</sup> between 1981 and 1990. His research shows significant changes with regard to:

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<sup>2</sup> The countries researched include Norway, Iceland, Sweden, West Germany, France, Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Ireland, Northern Ireland and Portugal.

- the position of work relative to other life domains (work centrality)
- the importance and meaning attached to work
- values associated with systems of authority within the workplace
- orientations towards the distribution of power within the workplace
- attitudes regarding job satisfaction, pride and autonomy

The above-mentioned shifts in work values point in the direction of a more individualistic, modern orientation towards work. Increasing importance is placed on the more intrinsic aspects related to work such as personal growth, creativity and autonomy, reflective of Inglehart's self-expression dimension. Less emphasis is placed on extrinsic work values such as good pay and job security, and traditional systems of authority and power distribution within the workplace.

It is in the light of the above discussion that the current study embarks and attempts to measure the extent to which work values have become individualised in South Africa. Traditional work values shall therefore be described as those work values characteristic of industrial capitalism; while modern work values can be described as those values characteristic of informational capitalism. As mentioned earlier, individualisation is a process/trend initiated at the outset of the first modernity. It is therefore important to establish that the term "traditional values" by no means insinuates "pre-industrial." The concepts of "traditional values" and "modern values" are merely used to delineate conceptual markers with which to measure the process/trend of individualisation.

### **1.3) Context of the Study**

As mentioned in the opening paragraphs, South Africa has undergone a number of political, social, cultural, demographic and economic changes during the last decade (Marais, 2001; Shaw, 2001). These changes have been initiated by forces on the domestic as well as the international front and have fundamentally changed the nature and structure of the South African society.

The negotiations of 1993 ushered in a new democratic system based on multi-party elections, universal suffrage and a Bill of Rights regarded as one of the most liberal in the world. In the elections of 1994, the African National Congress won a landslide victory over the National Party and the Inkhata Freedom Party and committed itself to the reform and transformation of a society that had been plagued by the injustices associated with colonialism and racism for decades (Van Aardt, 1994; Eades, 1999; Harvey, 2000; Marais, 2001; Shaw, 2001). As a result, the South

African society has been subjected to a decade of rapid transformation that would undoubtedly have affected the nature of general life values and work values in South Africa. Societal policies and workplace practices have been systematically reformed allowing previously excluded groups of the South African population equal opportunity in both the public and private spheres (Marais, 2001). Educational levels have increased (United Nations Development Programme, 2000:143) and traditional gender roles are being systematically re-defined (UNDP, 2000:67). Economic and social reforms have increased access to basic amenities and the expansion of information technology has altered the occupational structure of the South African economy (Stats SA 1999 as cited in South African Institute of Race Relations, 2000:346). It does, however, remain uncertain as to the direction and strength of this value change.

Although reforms have effected improvements in key indicators of human development, which would inevitably lead to value change in the direction of individualisation, closer scrutiny reveals that conditions have worsened for a large percentage of the population, leading to increasing inequalities, social fragmentation, alienation, dislocation and destabilisation.

In his book, *South Africa: Limits to Change*, Marais (2001) explores a number of social, political and economic indicators that play a pivotal role in the transformation of society. He concludes by arguing that “South Africa is stuck between the traditional and the modern and caught between forces that retard and propel transformation and development”(Marais, 2001:303).

Marais (2001) identifies a number of reforms that have had a positive effect in a number of areas. Firstly, legislation has been implemented to integrate the large number of Black South Africans that were previously excluded from full participation in the production, distribution and consumption circuits. The introduction of the Labour Relations Act, the Employment Equity Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act have substantially reduced what has been referred to as “racial despotism” and “racial Fordism” in the South African workplace (Webster, 1999:28). In addition, various initiatives that support Black Economic Empowerment have given rise to a corporate class of young Black entrepreneurs (Gevisser, 1997:24).

A number of reforms aimed at gender mainstreaming have also been instituted since 1994 (UNDP, 2000:67). These developments, focusing specifically on the status and position of women in the South African society, include the adoption of a Charter for Effective Equality (1994); the participation of a number of South African delegations at regional and international human rights, women’s and development conferences; and the Convention on the elimination of

all forms of discrimination against women in 1995 (Commission on Gender Equality South Africa, 1999:3).

Research on the South African labour market suggests that South African firms are moving in the same direction as organisations in other countries. Statistics show a greater use of flexi-workers, casual labour, contract labour, home workers, out-workers and agency workers (Webster, 1999:33). Furthermore, the service sector of the South African economy is expanding rapidly. Transport and communication services; finance, real estate and business services; and general government services have gained weight in the GDP basket, while agriculture, mining, quarrying and manufacturing constitute less of the GDP share (Marais, 2001:171).

But these positive reforms hide some of the harsher realities of the South African society and economy. The trade liberalisation policies introduced by the government in June 1996 in the form of GEAR<sup>3</sup>, have hardly lived up to expectations. In 1997, the GDP growth rate stood at 2,7 percent, in 1998 it had sunk to 1 percent before improving marginally to 1,2 percent in 1999. In 2001 the growth rate increased to 3,1 percent, displaying some improvement (Corrigan, 2001:145). The period between 1994 and 1996 exhibited jobless growth-critical in a country where unemployment is rife, especially amongst Black South Africans (Marais, 2001:170).

The state of education in South Africa also reflects a dismal picture. Although mean years of education of individuals 15 years and above have increased from 4.6 in 1970 to 6,1 in 2000, the system has failed to achieve the necessary results. A recent study by the Department of Education claims that in some surveyed schools there is no teaching on 90 percent of school days (UNDP, 2000: 30). Matric pass rates have dropped since 1994, prompting Minister Kader Asmal to declare the education system in a crisis in 1999. The tertiary education system shows similar problems. University enrolment rates are steadily decreasing along with subsidies and bursary shortages (Marais, 2001:92).

To further complicate matters, the South African State remains badly polarized along the lines of race, class gender and spatial concentration. Using the Gini<sup>4</sup> Coefficient, which stood at 0,69 in 1996, South Africa ranked as the 3<sup>rd</sup> most unequal society in the world (UNDP, 2000:63). Between 1975 and 1991, the income of the poorest 60 percent of the population decreased in real terms by approximately 35 percent and in 1996 this percentage was even higher. The poverty

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<sup>3</sup> Growth, Employment and Redistribution plan.

rate in South Africa currently stands at 45 percent, with 18 million people living below the poverty line (Marais, 2001:194).

“Between race” inequality of income distribution is considerable. Although constituting only 13 percent of the population, Whites earn more than half of the total income. Sixty percent of White households and 40 percent of Indian households constitute the top income quartile, whereas only 10 percent of Black households and 17 percent of Coloured households are located in this quartile (UNDP, 2000:64).

The extreme racial inequalities in the occupational structure echo the above-mentioned trend. According to Stats SA (as cited in SAIRR, 2000:346), 54,8 percent of legislators, senior officials and managers in South Africa are White. Only 29,1 percent are Black; 8,8 percent are Coloured and 6,9 percent are Indian. Between 1995 and 1997, however, the number of Black senior and middle managers in the private sector rose by 2,3 percent and 1,6 percent respectively (UNDP, 2000:65).

Although a number of reforms attempting to improve the position of women in a traditionally patriarchal society have been introduced, women still bear the brunt of social and economic inequalities and injustices. Women are still at a clear disadvantage to men with regard to income distribution and educational opportunities. Furthermore, women continue to occupy stereotypic gender roles in the South African corporate world. The majority of jobs performed by women in the corporate sector can be regarded as an extension of the work traditionally performed by women in the household. In 1998, for instance, women constituted approximately 54 percent of the population and 38 percent of the paid workforce. Sixty-eight percent of all service sector jobs and more than half of all clerical positions were filled by women employees (Commission on Gender Equality, 1999:3).

From the above-mentioned statistics it is clear that the South African population is indeed trapped between the modern and the traditional. The standard of living has been improved for a number of South Africans, reducing the significance of old forms of security and control. Opportunities for social mobility and education have increased and new types of consumption and styles of living have opened up to previously excluded groups of the population. Forces of globalisation, the liberalised economic policies and the juridification of labour relations have

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<sup>4</sup> The Gini-coefficient is a rating used to measure equality and inequality within countries and groupings. It assigns a value of between zero (perfect equality) and one (perfect inequality).



changed the structure of the South African labour market. But have these changes initiated a shift towards individualised work values in South Africa?

South Africa can still be classified as a middle-income developing<sup>5</sup> economy. The industrial sector can be regarded as semi-industrialised due to a shortage of skills, its dependence on the importation of capital goods and its reliance on the exportation of commodity goods. Furthermore, as mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, a number of forces that lead to social destabilisation and dislocation are operative in the South African society.

#### **1.4) Problem Statement**

Since “values are to a large extent derived, learned and internalised from society and its institutions” and since individual value change occurs as a result of “changes in self-conceptions due to changes in individual needs and perception of social goals and demands” (Rokeach, 1979:4), one could assume that the systemic changes that have taken place in South Africa over the last decade would have facilitated a value shift in the direction of individualised values.

It is, however, important to remember that South Africans have been exposed to and socialised within vastly different social, economic, cultural and political environments. It would therefore be naïve to assume that value changes have occurred in a uniform manner throughout the South African population. As shown in the preceding paragraphs, the changes that have occurred hide the difficult reality that still exists for a large percentage of the South African population. Work value change should therefore reflect the stark cleavages and differences that still exist within the population especially with regards to race<sup>6</sup> and gender. For instance, men should traditionally show greater tendencies towards individualised work values due to differences in familial, educational and occupational socialisation. But gender mainstreaming policies are affording more opportunities to women, thereby changing the nature of traditional gender roles. We should therefore witness a convergence of work values between the men and women of South Africa. Similarly, racial differences with regards to work values should also be converging, since previously excluded groups of the population are now granted equal opportunities in all spheres of social life.

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<sup>5</sup> The World Bank classifies an “upper-middle-income” country as a country with a per capita income of between \$3 000 and \$8 000.

<sup>6</sup> For the purposes of the study, the South African population will be divided into 4 racial categories, namely White, Black, Coloured and Indian. These classifications are by no means intended in a discriminatory manner, but reflect the explanatory potential of race as indicated in a study by Chaidis, which indicated the significance of race as a

The socio-economic variables that have historically been able to explain these value differences may no longer be applicable in the face of value change, initiating a new inquiry into the distribution of work value differences in South Africa.

### **1.5) Propositions**

The following main propositions will be researched and tested:

- The work values of South African citizens should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001.

The following sub-propositions will be researched and tested:

- Both male and female respondents should display a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although male respondents should reflect stronger support for individualised work values than their female counterparts.
- All racial groupings should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although White respondents should reflect stronger support for individualised work values than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts.
- Respondents in the higher educational categories should display stronger support for individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower educational categories.
- Respondents in the higher occupational categories should display stronger support for individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational categories.

### **1.6) Objectives of the study**

#### **1.6.1) Primary Objectives**

The study will attempt to examine the nature, direction and strength of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001 in order to ascertain the relevance of the individualisation thesis for work value change in South Africa.



Furthermore, the study will attempt to analyse the distribution of work value change in South Africa in terms of social categories defined by race, sex, education and occupation level.

### **1.6.2) Secondary Objectives**

The study will attempt to provide recommendations with regard to expected changes in work values in order to inform future workplace policy and practice South Africa.

### **1.7) The Research Process and Methodology**

The current research will take the form of a descriptive, quantitative study where the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001 will be presented. The individualisation theory presented by Inglehart will be used to comment on the nature of the South African context, following which quantitative time-series research using secondary data will be conducted in order to describe the extent to which work values have changed in South Africa.

The following research process will be applied in order to achieve the objectives and test the propositions stated in the previous section:

Firstly, a critical review of the relevant literature pertaining to values, work values and value change will be explored. An analysis of the systemic level changes that have taken place within the political, social, cultural and economic landscape of South Africa between 1990 and 2001 and how these could affect work value change will be presented.

This will be followed by a post-hoc time series analysis of value change and the distribution of this change between 1990 and 2001, using comparative attitudinal data from the South African component of the 1990, 1995 and 2001 World Values Survey<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, a presentation of the findings and the development of conclusions based on statistical analysis of the data will be followed by an examination of the implications of this work value

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<sup>7</sup> The World Values Survey is a worldwide investigation of socio-cultural and political change. It has completed representative national surveys of the basic values of more than 65 societies in all 6 inhabited continents. The four-wave data set was started with the European Values Survey in 1981, was followed by a second wave of surveys for global use in 1990 and a third wave in 1995. The fourth wave was recently completed in 2001 ( see [wvs.isr.umich.edu/](http://wvs.isr.umich.edu/)).

change on policy formulation within the workplace, with special reference to the management of cultural diversity.

### **1.8) Significance of the study**

As mentioned in the opening paragraphs, work values have gained increasing importance, especially within the context of cultural diversity. Cultural diversity with regards to work values impacts on organisation structure, job structure, time management, control systems, personnel policies and systems, workplace behaviour and activities such as leadership style, conflict management, problem-solving, performance management and goal setting, communication process, motivation and incentive schemes and job satisfaction (Wentzel, 1999). If organisation structures, processes and policies favour certain work value orientations over others, it could lead to dissatisfaction and discontent of minority groups within the organisation.

The opening up of the workplace to previously excluded groups with distinctly different socialisation experiences has led to a multitude of different value orientations within the South African workplace. As a result, management literature in South Africa has been inundated with the study of cultural diversity in the workplace in an attempt to reconcile the differences between African and Western, male and female work values (Godsell 1983; Theron 1993; Human 1996; Gowen 1996; Wentzel 1999; Booysen 1999).

But these studies have treated work values as a static concept and have not been concerned with value change. Given the drastic changes that the labour market has been exposed to over the last decade, an analysis of work value change and distribution would prove invaluable in informing workplace policy and practice. Furthermore, the workplace provides an exemplary platform from which to study value change in South Africa. It is one of the few social arenas where various cultural groups are forced to interact within an institutional setting, leading to an assimilation of national values and cultures. Similarly, the workplace can also be described as the social arena that is most vulnerable to intercultural value conflict. An analysis of the change in nature, direction and distribution of work values in South Africa could contribute to the prevention of such disputes.

### **1.9) Limitations to the study**

Inglehart warns that the concept of value change could prove problematic since it occurs slowly and fails to yield highly sensationalistic results (Inglehart, 1977:22). A time-series study examining value change over a period of 11 years (1990 to 2001) would detect only fragmentary changes that might tentatively hint towards more substantial changes in the long term. A study of this nature will, nonetheless, lay the foundations for future research on work value change in South Africa.

Furthermore, a time-series analysis of data covering such a limited time frame would not enable one to ascertain the full-extent of long term inter-generational value change, but will undoubtedly unveil some insights into the nature and distribution of short-term value change that may well translate into long-term truths.

### **1.10) Framework of the study**

In addition to Chapter one, the following chapters will be presented:

Chapter two will present a critical analysis of the relevant literature with regard to the nature and structure of values at the individual and collective levels; the relation between general life values and work values and perspectives on value change. Chapter two will conclude with a description of the relevant social, economic, political and cultural changes that have transformed the South African society during the last decade.

Chapter three introduces the research design and methodology, the sample profile, conceptualisation and operationalisation of the key variables and indicators, and the procedures used during the data analysis process. This will be followed by a description of the data, statistical analysis and testing of the hypotheses.

Chapter four provides an interpretation of the data and attempts to infer implications with regards to the nature and distribution of value change in South Africa.

Chapter five will conclude with a discussion of the consequences that these changes hold for workplace policy and practice in South Africa and provide recommendations for future research.

### 1.11) Conclusion

Work values are of particular importance in the context of the South African organisation where a substantial potential for value conflict exists due to the vast educational, cultural, class and gender differences borne from the apartheid era.

Work values and the differences that emerge there from are, however, not cast in stone. As research has shown, general life values are showing a distinct shift towards a more individualised nature in advanced industrial societies. This shift is triggered by a number of systemic level changes and developments, such as changing demographics, economic growth, increasing levels of affluence, technological developments and changing family patterns accompanied by the erosion of traditional gender roles.

South Africa has undergone a number of similar systemic changes over the last decade that should influence the nature, direction and distribution of work values of the South African population. Economic and social reforms have increased access to basic amenities and improved the general level of affluence within the population. Educational opportunities have been extended to previously excluded groups of the population and labour reforms have opened the workforce to people of all races, women and people with disabilities.

But the South African population still remains badly polarised along the lines of race, gender, education, income level and spatial concentration. Value change should, therefore, reflect the changing nature of these cleavages.

Chapter two will present an analysis of the literature on the structure of work values at both the individual and collective levels, and the relationship between general life values and work values. Furthermore, it will elaborate on the perspectives of value change proposed by Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997), Inglehart and Baker (2000, 2001), Inglehart and Abramson (1994, 1998), Izzo and Withers (2000), Rokeach (1979) and Harding and Hikspoors (1995) and attempt to analyze the extent to which the systemic level changes necessary to initiate a value change in the direction of individualised work values are present in the South African context.

## CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISATION AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

*In the enormously complex universe of value phenomena, values are simultaneously components of psychological processes, of social interaction, and of cultural patterning and storage (Rokeach, 1979: 17).*

### 2.1) Introduction

An understanding of the manner in which values inform and direct human behaviour and interaction in everyday life as well as within the work context could prove invaluable to the social scientist and organisational practitioner. Values are the basic standards and criteria that individuals use in everyday life that enable them to favour certain positions and ideologies over others; evaluate individuals and situations and maintain self-esteem and identity. Values facilitate conflict resolution and decision-making; perform a motivational function by giving expression to human needs and enable individuals to create meaning by facilitating the organisation of perception and belief about the world around us (Rokeach, 1973:12).

But values are not completely stable and are susceptible to change at both the individual and the societal levels. In order to understand the value change process, it is first necessary to appreciate the value concept itself; how values manifest at both the individual level and collective level; and the relationship between general life values and work values.

This chapter will commence with a conceptualisation of general life values, after which the relationship between individual and collective, general and work values will be explored. An analysis of the value change process will be followed by a description of the South African situation in terms of the factors that could effect work value change in South Africa.

### 2.2) The value concept

Literature on values is characterised by a proliferation of definitions of the value concept. Values have been described as preferences, needs, ethics, goals and beliefs (Dose, 1997: 219). Hofstede (1984:15) refers to values as the “mental programming of the mind” which enables individuals to “prefer certain states of affairs over others.” Similarly, Rokeach (1973:5) defines value as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence,” which manifests itself on three levels, namely the cognitive, affective and behavioural levels. Super (1980:130) refers to values as an

“objective, either psychological state, a relationship, or material condition that one seeks to attain”, whereas Schwartz (1992:2) defines values as “desirable states, objects, goals or behaviours, transcending specific situations and applied as normative standards to judge and choose among alternative modes of behaviour.”

Ester and Roe (1999: 2) write that

*The notion of value points to a relationship between an evaluating subject and an evaluated object, whereby this relationship is supposed to be durable and have implications for the subject's subsequent behaviour.*

According to Maslow (as cited in Huizinga, 1970: 20) human values are derived from a system of hierarchically organised needs, which form the basis of human motivation and ultimately inform and direct human behaviour. The need categories include physiological needs<sup>1</sup>, safety needs<sup>2</sup>, social needs<sup>3</sup>, esteem needs<sup>4</sup> and self-actualisation needs<sup>5</sup>. The basic needs to which Maslow refers do not merely represent need categories, but relate to each other in a hierarchical fashion. The needs situated towards the bottom of the need hierarchy are “prepotent” (Maslow, 1954: 69) and require satisfaction prior to the needs higher up the hierarchy. As a result, an individual whose physiological needs remain unsatisfied, will place greater subjective value on those objects, situations and behaviours that may lead to the satisfaction of that need.

Maslow's need hierarchy provides the values researcher with a useful tool with which to analyse and explain processes of value change. As lower order needs are satisfied, individuals and societies place greater psychological value on higher order needs, and as a result, employ different value orientations in fulfilment of these needs. Furthermore, the need hierarchy bridges the gap between individual value systems and the context in which the individual finds him/herself.

Although seemingly different, the above definitions of the value concept are all consistent with the notion that human values are subjective, evaluative standards that individuals employ in exercising choice and evaluating objects, individuals, situations and states of affairs. Values are

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<sup>1</sup> The fulfillment of which serves to sustain the individual i.e. food and water.

<sup>2</sup> Needs which require a predictable life situation, protection and personal safety.

<sup>3</sup> Needs that require love, affection and belonging.

<sup>4</sup> A need or desire for a stable and good evaluation of the individual.

<sup>5</sup> The need to “become everything that one is capable of becoming” (Maslow, 1954: 92).

informed by what individuals believe to be desirable and undesirable and are induced by goals that are derived from needs and subsequently influence the behaviour of an individual.

### **2.2.1) Individual and collective values**

Although values are inherent to the individual, they also manifest themselves at the collective or societal level. Van Deth and Scarbrough (1995: 37) reject the conceptualisation of values as either objects or individual properties. Instead, they emphasise the “social, intersubjective nature of values” evident from “their appearance as elements in moral discourse.” According to Van Deth and Scarbrough, “values have to be studied in their social context, and that the object of analysis are individuals as members of groups”(Van Deth and Scarbrough, 1995: 37).

Although measuring individual values, the current study will attempt to infer cultural values by aggregating the distribution of individual values across various demographic categories defined by race, sex, educational and occupational level. This is based on the assumption that various demographic categories undergo similar socialisation experiences and, as a result, develop shared values.

Socialisation refers to the process of interaction and learning through which individuals develop personality and acquire the ways of a society or group (Popenoe, 1995: 114). According to Berns (1997: 41) socialisation can be regarded as the “process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and character traits that enable them to participate as effective members of groups and society.” Agents of socialisation include the family, peer groups, community, school and the media, and are affected by ethnicity, religion, ideology and socio-economic status.

When individuals are socialised as members of a group, they display characteristics particular to the culture of that group or community. Culture refers to the values or value systems that are shared by groups of individuals and can be defined as the “collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group from another” (Hofstede, 1984:21). Hofstede distinguishes a number of layers at which cultures exist. These include the national or regional level; the ethnic level; the gender level; the generational level or the corporate or occupational level (Hofstede, 1991:10). At the collective or societal level, values determine the norms and shared goals that ultimately drive collective and societal action (Ester and Roe, 1999) and maintain social cohesion and stability.



The South African society reflects a number of social cleavages defined by race, gender, educational level and spatial concentration, which have been socialised in vastly different ways. As a result, the South African society is one that boasts an array of different cultures that would undoubtedly reflect a number of different value orientations.

### **2.2.2) The relationship between general life values and work values**

Clarification regarding the inter-relationship between general life values and work values, collective values and individual values is essential in order to facilitate an understanding of work value change in the context of the current study. Work values cannot be understood without reference to general life values, since general life values inform the basic structure and nature of work values. Similarly, work values act upon and inform general life values in what appears to be a reciprocal, bi-directional relationship.

Ester and Roe (1999:4) argue that “values have a particular cognitive structure which produces a structural similarity between general life values and work values.” Similarly, Schwartz (1999: 24) postulates that general life values influence the meaning that people attach to the work context and therefore impact on the formation and maintenance of an individual’s work values. Given, however, the integral role that work assumes in defining aspects of everyday life such as international conventions, labour laws, family life cycles etc., one could argue that work values could serve as a source from which general life values develop (Ester and Roe, 1999:5).

Ester and Roe (1999:6) provide a structural model (*Diagram 1*) that integrates the findings of various value studies into a single conceptual framework. This model attempts to illustrate the inter-relationship between general life values and work values and aims to explain the formation of values, value change and the impact of values on individual and societal actors.

The model consists of three vertical levels, namely the country level, the group level (demographic category and organisation) and the individual level. At each level there are horizontal links corresponding to general life values, work values and work or occupational activities. The horizontal links in the model are joined by causal, bi-directional links. Work activities are to a large extent determined by work values, and work values are to a certain degree derived from general life values. The causal relationship can, however, also be reversed, since work activities/situations may shape and inform work values, and work values may



subsequently inform general life values. Ester argues that the theories of socialisation and Sensemaking<sup>6</sup> support the notion of such reversed links.

The vertical links in the model, corresponding to individual, group and societal levels, also portray a bi-directional causal relationship. Individual values and activities affect collective (cultural) values and activities, although the converse could also occur. Such a “double causality” would prove consistent with the ideas proposed by Giddens in his theory of structuration<sup>7</sup>.

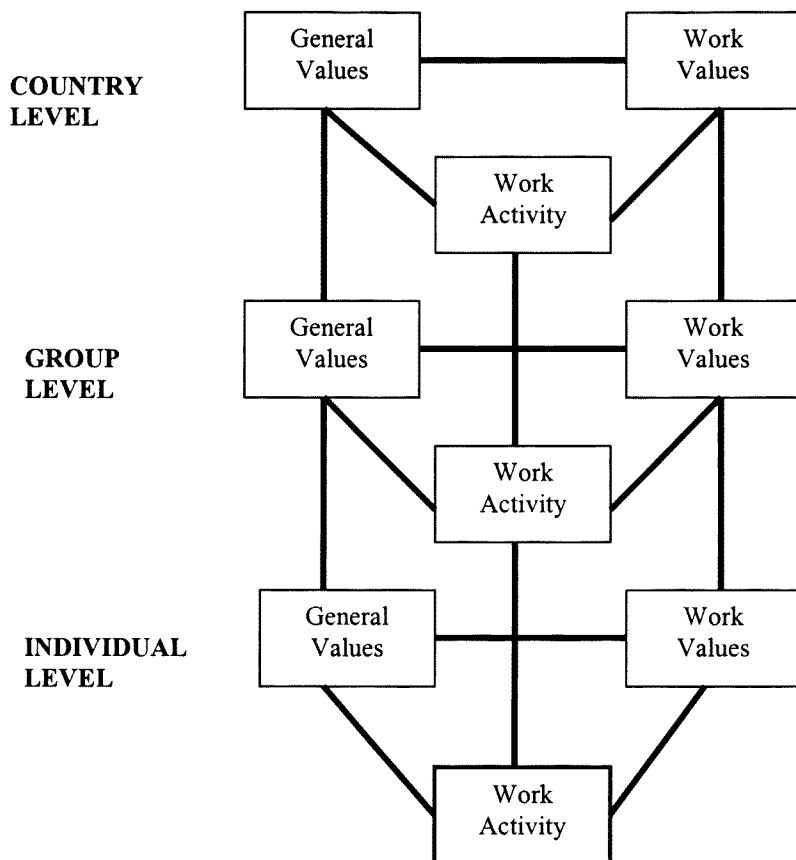
The model proposed by Ester and Roe proves particularly relevant to the field of value change (discussed in subsequent sections), since any analysis of work value change would be incomplete without cognisance of the notion of “double causality”. Inglehart’s theory of value change identifies a number of systemic level changes that impact on general life values, which subsequently influence the values associated with other life domains i.e. work values. Inglehart’s value-change thesis assumes then that values fulfil a central position between systemic level changes and individual behaviour. According to Ester and Roe’s model, however, values are indeed a complex phenomenon that themselves form an intricate web of complex bi-directional relationships i.e. work values and general life values and individual values and cultural values. Systemic level changes may well influence values, although the extent of such influence is largely determined by the culture of a specific individual or group. Cultural values therefore function as an intervening<sup>8</sup> variable in the value change process and their existence should therefore not be neglected.

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<sup>6</sup> Sensemaking refers to the process by which individuals create meaning by selectively scanning the environment for cues and then integrating these cues within a retrospective interpretation of the environment (Weick, 1998: 10).

<sup>7</sup> Giddens’ theory of Structuration postulates that social structures inform individual action, while individual action creates those very social structures through the act of employing them (Giddens, 1979).

<sup>8</sup> An intervening variable can be defined as the variable that lies between the dependent variable and the independent variable and shows a link or mechanism between them (Neuman, 2000: 127).

*Diagram 1: The relationship between general values and work values*

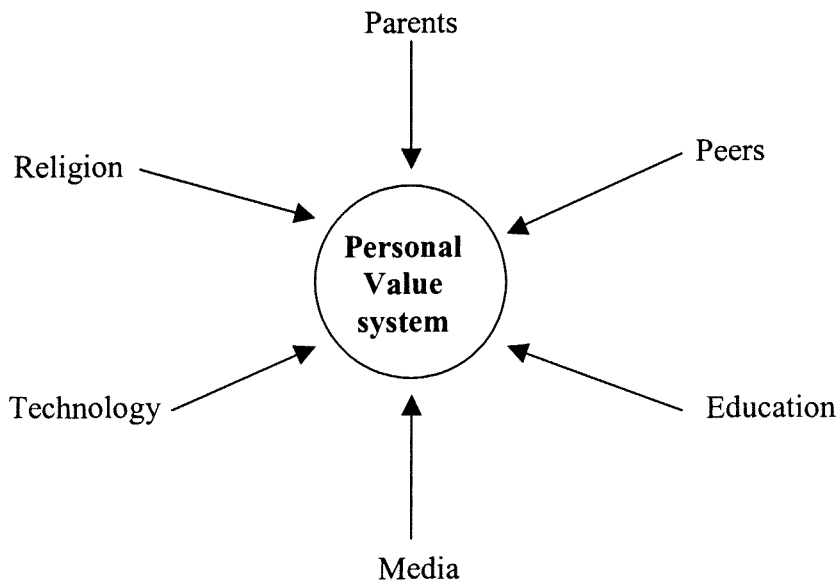
(Source: Ester, 1999: 6)

### 2.2.3) Value change

If values were completely stable, change on both the individual level and societal level would be impossible. If, however, values were completely unstable, the continuity of the individual personality and society would not be possible (Rokeach, 1973:6). In order to understand the process of value change, it is first necessary to examine the origin of values and value systems.

According to Rokeach (1979:2), “values are the result of societal demands and psychological needs that are learned and determined by culture, society, societies’ institutions and personal experiences.” These demands and needs are derived through the interaction of the individual with a number of ecological factors (*Diagram 2*) such as family, education systems, politics, legislation (Hofstede, 1984:22), religion, the media, science and technology, geography and current events (Hughes and Ginnet, 1996: 198).

Figure 2: Influences on the development of personal values



(Source: Hughes and Ginnet, 1996: 138)

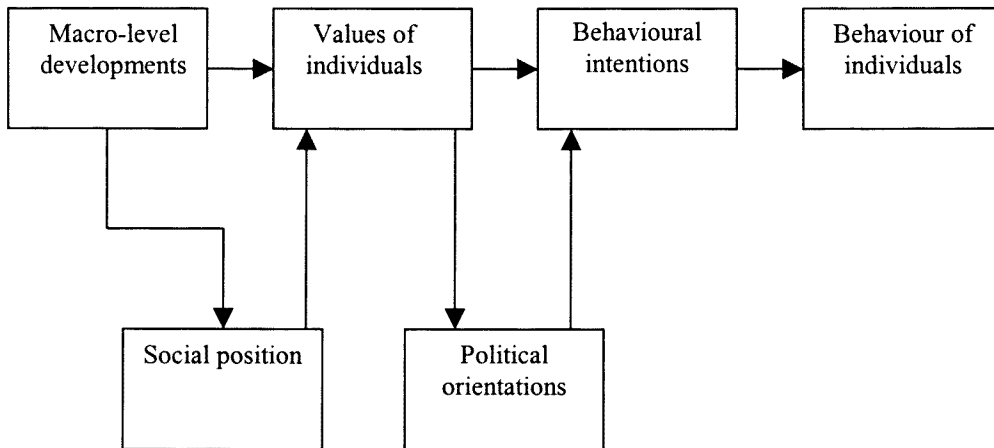
Individuals learn and internalise the standards that are derived from the physical environment, which ultimately serve to direct the development of a “socially defined sense of self as a competent and moral member of society” (Rokeach, 1979: 6). These definitions of the self will differ according to the position of the individual within a particular social arrangement, and the relative importance of the various social institutions to a particular individual. Definitions of what it means to be a competent and moral person will therefore vary in accordance with factors such as gender, occupation and stages in the life cycle (Rokeach, 1979: 6).

Value change occurs as a result of changes in the above-mentioned ecological factors, which subsequently alter an individual’s self-conception. According to Rokeach (1979: 6) definitions of the self can also be affected by changes in the relative importance of societal issues such as decreases or increases in the importance of racial justice, the redefinition of sex-roles or through sudden changes in the personal condition or situation of the individual.

Similarly, Van Deth and Scarbrough (1995) argue that the social environment in which the individual finds him-/herself and his/her position within that environment are the predominant influences on an individual’s values. Changes in the macro-environment such as the spread of affluence; the continuing division of labour; the rising levels of education; increasing

opportunities for mobility; the expansion of the mass media and the stabilisation of birth and death rates ultimately affect the circumstance of the individual and alter his/her position within that environment. This value change then elicits a behavioural change on the part of the individual, which ultimately changes the nature of the society in which the individual finds him-/herself (*Diagram 3*).

*Diagram 3: A simple analytical scheme for analysing the impact of values*



(Source: Van Deth and Scarbrough, 1995: 6)

### 2.3) Work values:

The definition and conceptualisation of the basic structure of work values remains problematic due to the bricolage of research on the topic. Numerous studies attempting to define and conceptualise the basic structure of work values have been undertaken, but little consensus has been reached on the topic, rendering comparative research on the subject problematic (Ester and Roe, 1999; Dose, 1997).

Not only does the definition and conceptualisation of work values pose a problem, but the manner in which work values have been studied leaves little consensus on the subject. Researchers have approached the field of work values by examining the importance of work to individuals (Super, 1995; Super and Sverko, 1995); the meaning of work in the lives of individuals (MOW International Research Team, 1987); work centrality i.e. the position of work in relation to other life domains<sup>9</sup> (Ester and Roe, 1999; Zanders, 1994; Zanders and Harding, 1995; MOW, 1987); and preferences within the work context (Dose, 1997). Furthermore, the

<sup>9</sup> Life domains include primary relations, friends and acquaintances, religion, politics and leisure.

study of work values has been attempted at various levels of social interaction, i.e. the individual level, the societal level, the occupational level, the generational level etc., rendering comparative research difficult.

The current study will, however, make use of work value categorisations (discussed in subsequent sections) that have been used in previous studies, so as to ensure the validity of concepts and orientations.

### **2.3.1) Definition of work values**

Most definitions of work values treat work values as the expressions of goals, rewards and outcomes within the work context. Ross et al (1999:50) describes work values as the expression of general life values within the work context that refer to the goals or rewards that individuals seek to attain through work. Similarly, the Meaning of Work project (1987) describes work values as the “significance of work for people as a vehicle for reaching important life goals.” These end-states or goals are then used as standards by which certain work conditions, activities and outcomes are evaluated, and ultimately enable individuals to make choices amongst a variety of different work alternatives (Ross et al, 1999: 54). Dose (1997:210) carries the concept of work values as end-states or goals further by examining work values as a system of needs or ethics within the work context. She goes on to describe work values as “evaluative standards relating to work or the work environment by which individuals discern what is ‘right’ or assess the importance of preferences.”

From the above-mentioned definitions it is clear that work values are consistent with the definitions of general life values specified at the start of this chapter. Work values can be described as desired outcomes or goals that are derived from needs within the work context, which function as the evaluative standards by which individuals discern the desirability of certain work activities and situations.

### **3.2) The structure of work values**

Various researchers have examined the basic structures, dimensions or orientations that underlie the work value concept (Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Elizur, 1984; Schwartz, 1999; Sverko, 1995). Hofstede (1980, 1991) makes use of five value dimensions to differentiate between individual work value orientations, namely power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism,

masculinity/femininity and time. Super's "Work Values Inventory" (1995) incorporates a broader range of dimensions which include creativity, altruism, aesthetics, intellectual stimulation, independence, achievement, prestige, management, economic returns, supervisory relations, security, variety, associates, surroundings and way of life. The list of similar dimensions is endless and attention will only be given to those dimensions that are compatible (i.e. allow for classification) according to the individualization theory.

The most frequently cited orientation towards the structure of work values is to examine the structure of work values in terms of life goals (Alderfer, 1972; Borg, 1990; Pryor, 1987). These life goals include intrinsic life goals, extrinsic life goals, social or relational life goals and life goals associated with power and prestige (Ross et al, 1999) and enable easy classification according to the individualization thesis (a more extensive analysis of the applicability of these dimensions to the individualisation thesis will be discussed in Chapter three).

Intrinsic work goals include values such as self-actualisation, personal growth and development, the opportunity to be creative and use one's initiative. Intrinsic work values can furthermore be broken down into a number of components, namely terminal intrinsic work values, individualistic intrinsic work values and societal intrinsic work values.

Terminal intrinsic work values regard work as an end in itself, whereas individualistic intrinsic work values include values associated with the development of the self. The societal component encompasses benevolence values that place an emphasis on the opportunity to contribute to the broader society (Ross et al, 1999).

Ross et al (1999) distinguish a second dimension of work values, namely extrinsic work values. Extrinsic work values include goals such as good pay, good working hours and items associated with job security.

The third component of work values concerns social or relational life values that propel the individual to seek fulfilling social relationships within the workplace and make a contribution to society, while the power/prestige dimension of work goals refers to comparing the self with relevant others in the work context and encompasses values associated with status, power and influence.

Similarly, Elizur (1984) classifies work values according to the “modality of their outcomes”. These classifications include instrumental work outcomes, which correspond to extrinsic work values; cognitive work values which correspond to intrinsic work values and affective outcomes, which correspond to relational or social work values.

### **2.3.3) Perspectives on work value change**

As mentioned in the opening paragraphs of Chapter one, Inglehart (1997:4) proposes a theory of general life value change in the direction of post-modern, individualistic values. Inglehart argues that advanced industrial societies are moving away from conditions of scarcity where economic necessity constrains individual action, towards an environment that allows more room for individual freedom and choice.

Inglehart makes use of two hypotheses to substantiate his claim. The scarcity hypothesis states that “an individual’s priorities reflect the socio-economic environment” and that an individual “places the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply” (Inglehart, 1977:3). As societies move into conditions of greater prosperity, material and physical security, they will begin to place increasing importance on values relating to individual growth and autonomy.

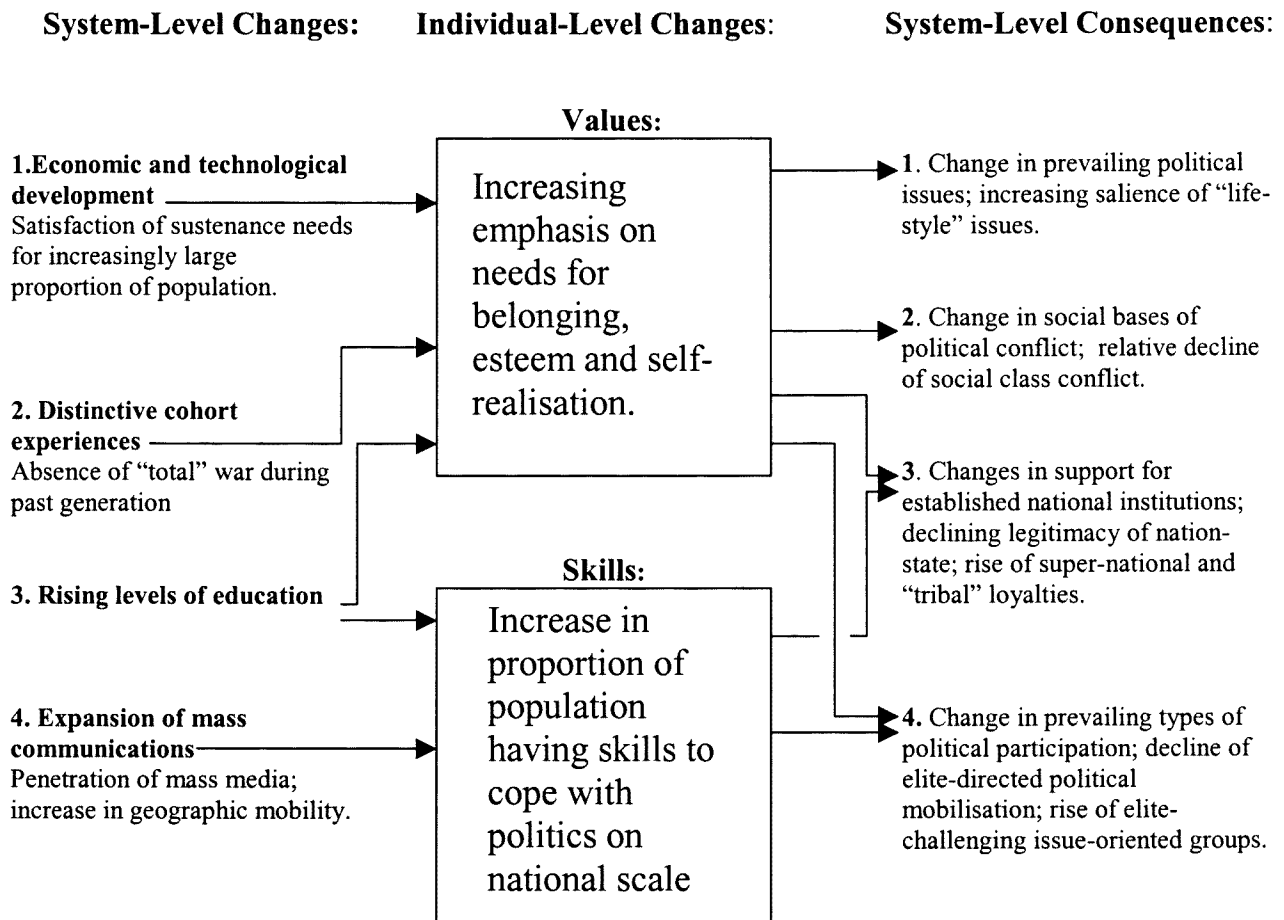
Inglehart’s socialisation thesis states that the “relationship between the socio-economic environment and value priorities is not one of immediate adjustment” and that an individuals basic values reflect the characteristics that existed during one’s pre-adult years (Inglehart, 1977: 3). As a result, value change is largely reflected through trends measured over the long term.

Inglehart identifies a number of systemic level changes that have had an impact on both long- and short-term value change in advanced industrial democracies. These include economic development and affluence; technological change and access to mass communication systems; changes in the occupational structure and rising levels of education.

Economic and technological developments lead to the fulfilment of the sustenance needs of a large percentage of the population, while rising levels of education facilitate the development of broader and more multinational world views. These trends, coupled with the expansion of the mass media that challenges traditional value systems and causes them to disintegrate, produce publics that place increasing emphasis on the supremacy of the individual and quality of life

(Diagram 4). Work values, as expressions of general life values in the context of work, would as a result, also display changes in the direction of individualization.

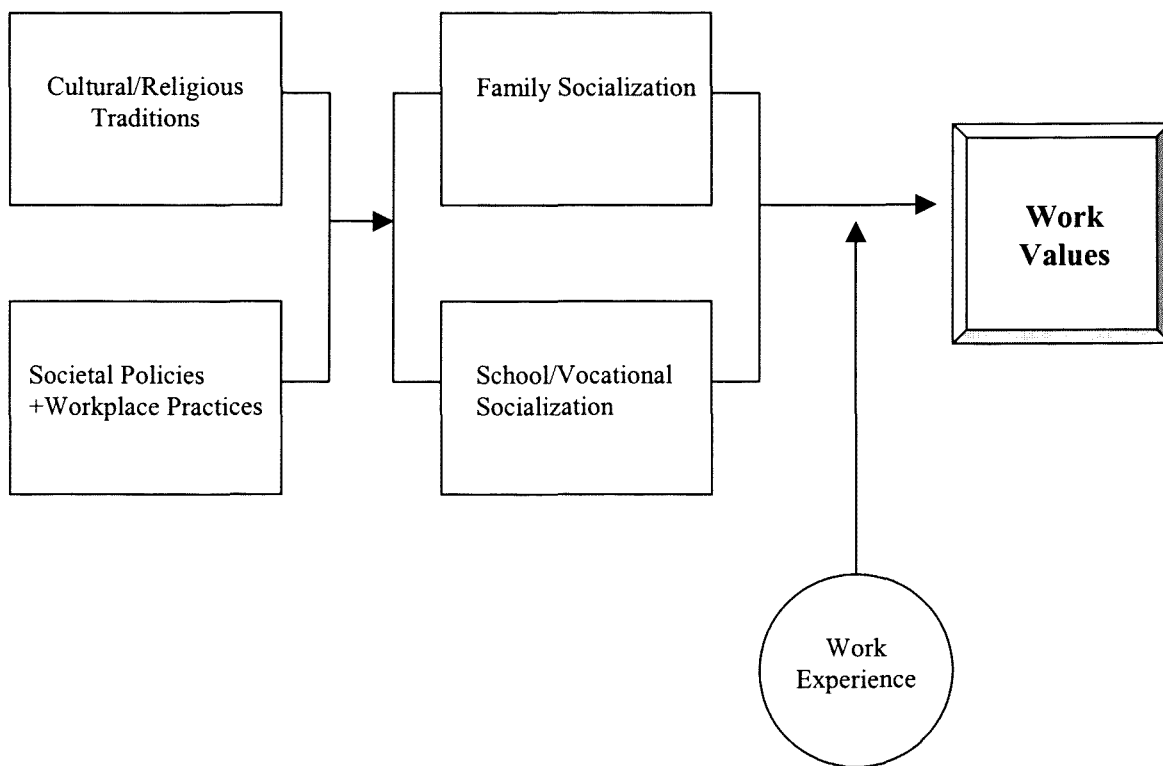
Diagram 4: The process of value change



(Source: Inglehart, 1977: 5)

Similarly, Harding and Hikspoors (1995:447) postulate that a number of factors impact on the formation of an individual’s work values (Diagram 5). Change in cultural-religious traditions; societal policies and workplace practices; family socialisation and work experience will affect change at the level of individual and societal work values.



*Diagram 5: Influences on work values*

*(Source: Harding and Hikspoors, 1995: 447)*

Izzo and Withers (2001) identify a number of demographic, economic and societal changes that will have an impact on work values in decades to come. These factors include changing parenting and family patterns and structures; increasing affluence of the population; trends towards consumerism and spiritual hunger; the spread of democracy and the development of advanced mass communication systems such as the Internet.

Changing parenting and family patterns will have a fundamental impact on the workplace and subsequently on individual work values. As more women enter the labour force, the number of dual-income families rise, increasing general levels of affluence within society and forcing male parents to carry more responsibility within the home (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: 61).

Family size, structure and values have also changed in recent decades (Izzo and Withers, 2001:17). With the rise in single-parent families, families are becoming smaller and more egalitarian, resulting in less of an emphasis being placed on rigid hierarchies and paternalism.

Since the concept of the nuclear family is no longer the accepted norm, traditional gender norms that have defined the workplace for decades are being challenged (Inglehart et al, 2001: 13).

The new economy has also had an impact on the world of work and work values. Increasing global competition has led to a rise in the number of mergers and acquisitions<sup>10</sup>, downsizing and upsizing, forcing companies to demand more from their employees. In order to remain competitive, workers have to keep learning and constantly develop new skills (Izzo and Withers, 2001: 13). Loyalty to the organisation is now replaced with loyalty to one's profession, as security within the workplace is replaced with uncertainty and ambiguity.

Furthermore, the knowledge economy places increasing demands on employee skills and knowledge. Knowledge workers are forced to work with increasingly abstract concepts and, as a result, have to make demanding decisions quickly and autonomously (Harding and Hikspoors, 1995:444). The proportion of jobs requiring low-skilled workers has decreased significantly, whereas the need and opportunities for highly literate, skilled professionals has increased dramatically<sup>11</sup> (Kraut and Korman, 1999: 15).

The new information technology upon which the knowledge economy rests, makes new forms of organisation possible and results in a number of alternative working arrangements. The "network enterprise"<sup>12</sup> characterised by "flexible specialisation," "management-worker co-operation," "multi-national labour", "inter-firm networking", "strategic alliances" and horizontal organisation structures (Castells, 1996: 187) demands new forms of management practices and workplace policies that will change the nature of workplace values and culture. The spread of advanced information systems technology and the Internet have altered the labour system traditionally associated with the industrial economy. The use of alternative working arrangements such as flexi-time, part-time and self-employment has increased, leading to a decrease in job stability and security and blurring the distinction between work and non-work activities (Harding and Hikspoors, 1995: 441).

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<sup>10</sup> Foreign direct investments doubled their share of world capital formation between 1980 and 1995. Annual cross-border mergers and acquisitions increased from 42% of total foreign direct investment in 1992 to 59% of FDI in 1997 (Castells, 2000: 118)

<sup>11</sup> During the 1990's the majority of the population in all G-7 countries was employed in services. Between 1970 and 1990 employment in the "post-industrial services" category increased from 22,8% to 39,2% in the United Kingdom; from 30,2% to 39,5% in the United States; from 28,6% to 33,8% in Canada; from 15,1% to 24% in Japan and from 20,1% to 31,7% in Germany (Castells, 2000: 218).

<sup>12</sup> Castells (2000: 187) defines the network enterprise as "that specific form of enterprise whose system of means is constituted by the intersection of segments of autonomous systems of goals." It is characterized by its ability to generate knowledge and process information quickly and efficiently; its flexibility and ability to change its goals under the influence of rapid technological and cultural change.

Kraut and Korman (1998:5) identify the changing demographic structure of the workforce as one of the primary influences on work value change. The increased participation of women in the labour force has had a fundamental impact on workplace culture and arrangements. Organisations are being forced to introduce more flexible and female-friendly work-schedule arrangements. Furthermore, studies have indicated that the work values of women differ in many areas to the work values espoused by men (Booyesen, 1999; Elizur 1994, Rowe and Snizek, 1995). The impact of the assimilation of female values in the workplace should therefore not be underestimated.

The entrance of minority groups into the labour force has also shown to have an impact on work values (Kraut and Korman, 1999: 8). The passing of a number of anti-discrimination laws has opened up the workforce to a number of different cultures and value orientations. In the South African context, this proves particularly significant, as the majority of South Africans that were previously excluded from equal opportunities within the labour market have now been afforded equal rights within the social and economic arena.

Advanced industrial societies have also displayed rising levels of affluence and personal wealth (Inglehart and Baker, 2000: 19). Increasing affluence within society reduces the importance of work as a means to satisfy economic and material needs. The function of work becomes the fulfilment of self-actualisation needs, personal development and growth.

At this stage the reader is probably wondering to what extent the changes taking place in advanced industrial societies are applicable to the South African context. Since South Africa is still classified as a middle-income, developing economy, we by no means suggest that the changes taking place in advanced industrial economies are equivalent to the changes that have taken place in South Africa over the last decade.

Developing countries still fall well behind their advanced, western counterparts with regard to income levels, life expectancy, education levels etc. Of the 4,6 billion people living in developing countries, more than 850 million are illiterate. Approximately a billion lack access to safe water resources and 2,4 billion do not have access to basic sanitation. Roughly 325 million children are out of school and nearly 11 million under the age of 5 die each year from preventable causes. Around 1,2 billion people in developing countries live on less than \$1 a day, whereas 2,8 billion survive on less than \$2 a day (World Development Report, 2000: 25).

According to the World Development Report (2000:1) numerous advances have been made with regard to human development in the developing economies. Life expectancy in the developing world has increased by 20 years on average over the last four decades. Infant mortality rates have fallen by more than half and fertility rates have declined by 50 percent. Net primary school enrollment has increased by 13 percent over the past two decades and average incomes have more than doubled between 1965 and 1998. Furthermore, the number of individuals living in conditions of extreme poverty has decreased by approximately 78 million, and the adult literacy rate has improved from 47 percent in 1970 to 73 percent in 1999.

In his book, *Power of Identity*, Castells (1997: 149) argues that developing societies are showing evidence of similar trends experienced in advanced industrial societies. According to Castells, statistics suggest that a growing number of women are entering the labour market in developing economies. These trends, coupled with the extra-ordinary rise of feminist grassroots organisations and the increasing number of female headed households, points to the liberation of women in developing economies<sup>13</sup>.

Although South Africa is still classified as a developing economy, it has undergone a number of changes in the last decade (discussed in *Section 2.4*). Although these changes are nowhere near in magnitude to the changes taking place in advanced industrial societies, they are consistent with the global trends mentioned above, and should therefore impact on the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa

#### **2.3.4) Individualised work values**

The above-mentioned changes in society and economy will result in stark work value differences between traditional employees of the industrial era and the emerging employees of the knowledge society and economy. According to Zanders (1993: 130):

*Workers are currently emphasizing that creativity and autonomy be expressed in their jobs; they are rejecting authority and placing self-expression ahead of status. They are also valuing new experiences in their participation in decision making, and, as a result, inner growth. These are the values of the future that people increasingly want to pursue in their working life.*

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<sup>13</sup> For a more detailed analysis consult Castells, M. 1997: **The Power of Identity**. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford: UK.

Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997); Inglehart and Baker (2000, 2001); Inglehart and Abramson (1994, 1998); Halman and de Moor (1993); Ester and Roe (1999) and Harding and Hikspoors (1995) propose that work value change encompasses a shift from secular<sup>14</sup>, rational work values to individualised work values. Individualization implies an increased emphasis on the value and autonomy of the human being, coupled with an emphasis on self-development, as well as the recognition of moral responsibilities towards others (The European Values Group, 1992: 15)

Individualisation implies fundamental changes with regards to the goals and rewards people seek through their work; the way in which they perceive the function and structure of the organisation; the nature of authority; the distribution of power in the organisation and the position of work relative to other life domains.

Workers in the new economy are less motivated by material rewards, status and advancement. Instead, opportunities for personal development and growth, change and stimulation are what drive the new employee. In addition, employees in the new economy desire full responsibility for their career development, are self-motivated and autonomous. They want challenging work and seek a sense of contributing to their community (Izzo and Withers, 2001:15 and Grantham, 2000: 6).

The new employee places loyalty to himself and his profession above loyalty to the organisation (Izzo and Withers, 2001; Grantham, 2000). Job security and career advancement are no longer regarded as paramount, as new employees pursue a multitude of alternative jobs and careers in pursuit of constant new change and development (Izzo and Withers, 2001; Grantham, 2000; Zanders, 1993).

Work values with regards to authority are also undergoing rapid transformation. Individualization implies less acceptance of traditional, hierarchical systems of authority in the workplace and places greater emphasis on worker participation in an environment which favours team-work and co-operation (Zanders, 1992; Izzo and Withers 2001).

With the advent of alternative forms of working arrangements such as part-time, flexi-time and home-workers, the traditional distinction between work and home life is becoming blurred, with the result that emerging employees seek greater harmony between work and home-life. In

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<sup>14</sup> Secularization is defined as the functional differentiation of society characteristic of industrialization and urbanization. It is characterized by the separation of economic, social, religious and political spheres and was

industrial society, work was paramount in defining the identity of the individual. In the new economy, work plays less of a defining role in the lives of individuals and loses its importance in relation to other life domains (Izzo and Withers, 2001; Zanders, 1993).

#### **2.3.4.1) The European values study 1980-1990**

Zanders (1993: 133), using data from the European Values Survey<sup>15</sup> compared the work values of 16 countries between 1981 and 1990 along the dimensions of work centrality, reasons to work, job attribute preferences, authority, achievement and power distribution orientations. Zanders' study reflects a definite trend towards individualization within some of the value orientations used.

On the dimension of work centrality, Zanders concludes that family still remains the most central dimension of people's lives, although work still maintains a high priority. Work ranked second in 8 countries, third in 4 countries and fourth in 3 countries (Zanders, 1993: 133).

Zanders also attempted to measure work values along the dimension of work attributes, i.e. those attributes that an individual would find rewarding in a job. Factor analysis indicated 3 components, namely, personal development, comfort and material conditions. Personal development refers to the expressive aspects of a job such as initiative, responsibility, personal growth, and were classified as modern, individualised work values. Comfort related to secondary work conditions, such as good working hours and good holidays, and was also classified as a modern, individualised work value. Zander's third component, namely, material conditions, incorporates job attributes such as good pay and job security that are generally regarded as traditional values. In Zander's study, all three factors were endorsed more frequently in 1990 than in 1981, indicating a slight trend towards individualised work values (Zanders, 1993: 136).

Furthermore, Zanders attempted to measure work values regarding traditional systems of authority in the workplace. The individualisation thesis implies that one would witness a decline in the emphasis placed on traditional, hierarchical systems of authority and more emphasis on

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perpetuated by the rise of the bureaucracy and division of labour (The European Values Group, 1992: 6).

<sup>15</sup> Founded by the European Values Group, the European Values Survey commenced in 1981 with 29 countries of Western Europe participating. The study was extended in 1990/1991 with a revised questionnaire (EVS, 1981: 3). The current world values survey is based on the European Values Survey.

individual decision making and authority. The data displayed little change with regard to attitudes towards authority, although there were some significant country specific changes.

With regard to values concerning power distribution in the workplace, Zanders' data shows a strong preference for the capitalist mode of power distribution, which supports the individualisation thesis.

Many of the orientations used in Zanders' study will also be used in the current study due to the similar nature of the questionnaires.

## **2.4) The South African context**

As mentioned in Section 2.3.3., a number of “systemic level” changes have to be present in order for “individual level” value change to occur (Inglehart, 1997:4). These changes include:

- ❑ Economic development
- ❑ Rising levels of affluence
- ❑ Rising levels of human development
- ❑ Rising levels of education
- ❑ Changing workplace policies and practices that render the business environment more egalitarian and representative of the various population groups
- ❑ Changing labour markets due to the increasing participation of women and minority groups
- ❑ Changes in the occupational and sectoral structure of the economy reflecting a shift towards a more service, knowledge orientated economy
- ❑ Gender developments reflecting the breakdown of traditional gender roles
- ❑ The expansion of mass communication systems
- ❑ The breakdown of traditional family patterns and structures

The following section will attempt to examine the extent of the “systemic level” changes in South Africa over the last decade. This will enable us to establish the context in which individual level change will occur.

As mentioned previously, South Africa cannot be described as an advanced industrial society and we are by no means suggesting that the needs of the South African population are similar to those expressed by advanced industrial societies. Although segments of the South African



population live under conditions of extreme economic and physical security, the majority of the population lives under conditions of severe poverty. We would, however, like to argue that South Africa has undergone a number of changes over the last decade that have dramatically altered the contours of inequality in South Africa. Have the systemic level changes in South Africa affected the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001?

The following section will attempt to provide an analysis of the South African context in terms of the “systemic level” changes described above. Where possible, attempts have been made to draw on statistics from all the relevant years (1990, 1995 and 2001). In some instances, however, this has proved problematic due to the unavailability of relevant data. It should be noted that the aim of the following analysis is to highlight trends in the South African economy and society, which may hint towards the possibility of work value change.

Special mention will be given to differences between the various gender and racial<sup>16</sup> groupings in South Africa. To simplify matters for the reader, data will also be presented diagrammatically.

#### **2.4.1) Economic development 1990-2001:**

According to Inglehart (1977:5) economic development promotes the formation of individualism throughout society by improving living conditions and general levels of affluence. Citizens of advanced, industrial democracies characterised by high economic development are freed from the constraints of economic necessity and are placed at liberty to pursue a number of alternative value priorities.

Although experiencing a recession at the outset of the transition in 1993, the South African economy has shown a steady growth rate during the latter half of the 1990's. Most notable however, is the continual growth in real total GDP and the integration of the South African economy into the global economy.

The South African economy was in its poorest state at the outset of the transition (1990 to 1993) due to the legacy of poor economic performance experienced during the last 15 years of



apartheid. The GDP growth rate decreased from a 5,5 percent average in the 1960's to a 1,8 percent average in the 1980's. The fixed investment levels declined from 36,5 percent of GDP in 1983 to below 20 percent in the late 1980's, and private investment rates remained low. Net investment levels were almost zero by 1990. Levels of personal savings dropped from 11 percent in 1975 to three percent in 1987. High unemployment levels and serious balance of payment problems perpetuated the poor state of the economy (Marais, 2001:100) and between 1989 and 1993 South Africa experienced its longest recession.

In the early 1990's real fixed investment growth remained negative and improved only slightly from -7,4 percent in 1991 to -3,1 percent in 1993. Private sector investment made up only ten percent of the GDP in early 1994, perpetuated by capital outflows in the early 1990's, which initiated a loss of two percent real GDP growth annually. Domestic savings were 16,5 percent of GDP in 1994, decreasing from the 24 percent that was achieved in the 1980's (Marais, 2001: 102). The GDP growth rate also reflected a dismal picture and reached negative levels (-0,6 percent) between 1990 and 1993 (Finnemore, 1998: 55).

The South African economy has, however, showed marked improvement since the outset of the transition. Between 1994 and 1995, GDP growth rates reached just over three percent, reaching a plateau in 1996 with a growth rate of 4,2 percent. The recovery in regard to economic growth experienced during the 1994-1997 period came to an end in 1998, when output for the year remained at 1997 levels. In 1997, GDP growth stood at 2,2 percent decreasing to 0,6 percent in 1998. 1999 experienced a GDP growth of 1,2 percent, finally reaching it's highest level since 1996 with a rate of 3,1 percent in 2000. *Table 1* indicates that real total GDP increased from Rbn 525,07 in 1990 to Rbn 618,67 in 2000 (Corrigan, 2001: 145).

*Table 1: Real total GDP Rbn, 1990-2000*

<b>Real total GDP Rbn</b>	
1990	535,07
1995	548,10
2000	618,67

(Source: Corrigan, 2001: 145)

<sup>16</sup> South Africa consists of four major racial groupings namely Black, Coloured, Indian and White. For more information regarding the composition and identity of the various South African racial groupings consult Jung

Increasing foreign investment and foreign asset rates are evidence of South Africa's integration into the global economy (*Table 2 and 3*). Foreign direct investment rates improved after the 1994 elections and net private outflows of capital experienced in the early 1990's reversed slightly by late 1994. The new government introduced a number of trade liberalisation policies, centred on an export-orientated manufacturing sector and a move away from trade in primary commodities (Marais, 2001:113).

In June 1996 the ANC government adopted the GEAR strategy, which was aimed at improving the "structural weaknesses of the economy" and to "integrate South Africa into the global system." It was aimed at "labour absorbing" economic growth and expected to reach an economic growth rate of six percent by the year 2000 and create an average of approximately 400 000 jobs per year (UNDP, 2000:10).

In 1996 the government lifted exchange controls and capital flows increased from 0,7 percent of the GDP to 4,2 percent of the GDP between 1996 and 1997 (UNDP, 2000: 18). Foreign investment in South Africa increased from Rbn 89,58 in 1990 to Rbn 756,52 in 1999. Similarly, South Africa's foreign assets increased from Rbn 54,92 in 1990 to Rbn 606,26 in 1999 (Corrigan, 2001: 160).

*Table 2: Foreign liabilities (Foreign investment in South Africa), 1986-1999*

	<i>1986 Rbn</i>	<i>1988 Rbn</i>	<i>1990 Rbn</i>	<i>1992 Rbn</i>	<i>1994 Rbn</i>	<i>1996 Rbn</i>	<i>1999 Rbn</i>
<b>Direct Investment</b>	21.89	18.48	23.57	32.55	44.7	61.98	318.63 <sup>c</sup>
<b>Non-direct Investment<sup>a</sup></b>	58.83	62.02	66.01	92.31	140.24	221.07	437.89
<b>Total<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>80.72</b>	<b>80.5</b>	<b>89.58</b>	<b>124.86</b>	<b>184.94</b>	<b>283.04</b>	<b>756.52</b>

*Source: South African Reserve Bank as cited in Corrigan, 2001: 159*

a Includes portfolio investment, and long- and short-term loans from various sources

b Figures should add up vertically but may not, due to rounding

c According to the South African Reserve Bank this large increase was the result of the transfer of the primary listing of companies such as Anglo American from the Johannesburg to London Stock Exchange

*Table 3: Foreign Assets (South African investment in other countries), 1986-1999*

	<i>1986</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1999</i>
	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>	<i>Rbn</i>
<b>Direct Investment</b>	24.08	28.67	38.46	54.33	67.7	114.01	203.04
<b>Non-direct investment<sup>a</sup></b>	14.2	15.93	16.46	24.54	29.96	50.14	403.22
<b>Total<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>38.28</b>	<b>44.6</b>	<b>54.92</b>	<b>78.87</b>	<b>97.66</b>	<b>164.15</b>	<b>606.26</b>

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*Source: South African Reserve Bank as cited in Corrigan, 2001: 160*

a Includes portfolio investment and long and short term loans from various sources

b Figures should add up vertically and horizontally but may not, due to rounding

#### **2.4.2) General levels of affluence, 1990-2001**

According to Inglehart (1977: 22), one of the major sources of value change in western, industrialised countries is increasing levels of affluence. According to the scarcity hypothesis, individuals place a high priority on needs that are in short supply. Groups of individuals experiencing high levels of affluence no longer place primary importance on values associated with safety and security. Instead, such individuals place increasing importance on self-actualisation and individual development values. Although South Africa's income levels do not nearly resemble those of her Western counterparts, income levels in South Africa have undergone significant changes in the last decade.

Although Real Gross Domestic Product per head has decreased slightly since 1990 (*Table 4*), the distribution of income in South Africa has undergone drastic transformation. South African income levels have been largely characterised by vast disparities between race groups and gender. Apartheid was characterised by a concentration of wealth in the hands of the white minority, plunging millions of Black, Coloured and Indian South African into poverty. Improvements have been made with regard to the racial distribution of income, although 45 percent of South Africans still remain below the poverty line.

*Table 4: Income level and trends, 1990-2000*

	Real GDP/head <sup>a</sup>	Increase/decrease	Real PDI/head <sup>b</sup>	Increase/decrease
<b>1990</b>	<b>14806</b>	<b>-2.4</b>	<b>9210</b>	<b>-1.6</b>
1991	14352	-3.1	9060	-1.6
<b>1992</b>	<b>13755</b>	<b>-4.2</b>	<b>8825</b>	<b>-2.6</b>
1993	13637	-0.9	8709	-1.3
<b>1994</b>	<b>13786</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>8683</b>	<b>-0.3</b>
1995	13920	1	8870	2.2
<b>1996</b>	<b>14197</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9126</b>	<b>2.9</b>
1997	14249	0.4	9150	0.3
<b>1998</b>	<b>14048</b>	<b>-1.4</b>	<b>9101</b>	<b>-1.5</b>
1999	14013	-0.3	8880	-1.4
2000	14162	1.1	<b>8998</b>	<b>1.3</b>

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*Source: South African Reserve Bank as cited in Corrigan 2001: 148*

a GDP/head is total GDP/total population

b Total personal income minus direct taxes

According to the South African Human Development Report (2000: 61), South Africa can be regarded as the third most unequal society in the world. An enormous transfer of wealth from the poor majority into the hands of the rich minority characterised the last 15 years of apartheid. Between 1975 and 1991, the income of the poorest 60 percent of the population decreased by 35 percent.

Between 1917 and 1970, Whites earned approximately 70 percent of the total income while comprising less than 20 percent of the population. Black South Africans earned approximately 20 percent of the total income for the same period, while Indians and Coloureds shared the remaining ten percent. Between 1991 and 1996, however, the White share of income declined from 59,5 percent to 51,9 percent (*Table 5*). The Black share of income rose from 29,9 percent in 1991 to 33,7 percent in 1996, whereas the Coloured share rose from 6,8 percent to 7,9 percent and the Indian share rose from 3,8 percent to 4,5 percent (Whiteford and van Seventer, 1999:11). In 1999, the percentage of White households in the richest ten percent fell from 95 percent to 65 percent, whereas the percentage of Blacks in the top ten percent of income earners climbed from nine percent to 22 percent (Marais, 2001: 201).

Table 5: Income and population shares by race, 1970-1996

Race	Share of total income				Proportion of population			
	1970	1980	1991	1996	1970	1980	1991	1996
<b>Black</b>	<b>19.80%</b>	<b>24.90%</b>	<b>29.90%</b>	<b>35.70%</b>	<b>70.70%</b>	<b>72.40%</b>	<b>75.20%</b>	<b>76.20%</b>
Coloured	6.70%	7.20%	6.80%	7.90%	9.40%	9.30%	8.70%	8.60%
<b>Indian</b>	<b>2.40%</b>	<b>3.00%</b>	<b>3.80%</b>	<b>4.50%</b>	<b>2.90%</b>	<b>2.80%</b>	<b>2.60%</b>	<b>2.60%</b>
White	71.20%	65%	59.50%	51.90%	17.00%	15.50%	13.50%	12.60%
<b>Total<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Source: Wharton Econometric and Forecasting Associates as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 376.

a Figures should add up vertically but may not, owing to rounding.

Although the statistics reflected in Table 5 point to vast improvements with regards to income distribution in South Africa, vast differences still exist between the various race groups. In 1999, between race inequality accounted for approximately 37 percent of total income inequality. Sixty-five percent of households in the top income quintile were Whites; 45 percent were Indians; 17 percent were Coloured and only ten percent were Black. Twenty-three percent of all Black households are concentrated in the poorest quintile, whereas 11 percent of Coloured and only one percent of Indians and Whites are situated in that quintile (UNDP, 2000: 61).

In 1999, poverty levels were also largely concentrated around racial boundaries. Fifty-seven percent of Blacks currently live below the poverty line, whereas only 2,1 percent of whites live in poverty. The poverty rate amongst Indians rests at 14 percent, while it is significantly higher for the Coloured population at 35 percent (Whiteford and van Seventer, 1999: 32).

Statistics show, however, that “within race” inequality is beginning to outstrip “between race” inequality. The Gini coefficient<sup>17</sup> amongst Black households rose from 0.35 in 1990 to 0.51 in 1995 and 0.54 in 1998. According to a report *Measuring Poverty in South Africa*, published by Statistics South Africa (2000), the country’s Gini-coefficient rose from 0.73 in 1995 to 0.80 in 1998. During the same period, the Gini co-efficient for Blacks rose from 0.70 to 0.81, and the Gini co-efficient for the White population rose from 0.55 to 0.67 (SAIRR, 2000: 374).

<sup>17</sup> The Gini co-efficient is a rating used to measure equality and inequality within countries and groupings. It assigns a value of between zero (perfect equality) and one (perfect inequality).

This trend is particularly evident when considering the racial composition of the upper income levels. The proportion of urban Blacks in the richest income quintile increased five-fold-from two percent in 1990, to ten percent in 1995 (UNDP, 2000:63). According to the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch (as cited in Laurence, 2002: 23), the Black component of South Africa's middle class has grown from 29 percent to 49 percent between 1994 and 2001. The White component contracted from 53 percent to 32 percent; the Indian component contracted from 11 percent to five percent; and the Coloured component increased from 11 percent to 15 percent.

This change in the nature of income inequality can be largely accredited to the "de-racialization of state institutions", and the increased admittance of Indian, Coloured and Black South Africans into management positions within the private sector (UNDP, 2000:63).

Gender also plays a large part in determining the nature of income inequality in South Africa. In 1999, twice as many female-headed households were situated in the bottom income quintile than male-headed households. The poverty rate among female-headed households is 60 percent, compared with only 31 percent for male headed households (UNDP, 2000:63).

Although real total GDP per capita has decreased slightly since 1990, considerable inroads have been made with regard to the re-distribution of income in the South African population. Although vast income disparities still exist amongst the various racial grouping in South Africa, the share of White total income has decreased slightly and contributed to the increase in income in the hands of the Black and Coloured populations.

#### **2.4.3) Education in South Africa, 1990-2001:**

Education plays a fundamental role in shaping the nature of individual values. According to Inglehart (1977: 9), individuals that are highly educated are more liberal, less authoritarian, less dogmatic, less ethnocentric and more interested in politics. Since education can be regarded as an indicator of affluence, cognitive development and "integration into a specific communications network", it would be fair to assume that educational levels will have a direct influence on the development of individualised work values.

Educational levels in South Africa have shown a marked improvement since 1990. Not only have literacy levels increased throughout the population, but the distribution of education

throughout the various population groups is significantly more equitable than that experienced during the apartheid era.

The apartheid era has left its mark on the South African education system resulting in the fact that the education system within South Africa is characterised along racial and gender lines. Apartheid education commenced in 1953 with the passing of the Bantu Education Act, which stipulated different standards of schooling for Blacks and Whites. Black scholars were not taught technical or commercial skills, were restricted to a purely academic education and received training in gardening and manual labour (Van Aardt, 1994:24). A deficiency of qualified science, mathematics and technical teachers, a shortage of teaching equipment, overcrowded classrooms and lack of funds characterised the education system within South Africa at the outset of the transition. It is estimated that in 1991, three-quarters of Black schools did not have electricity, and the pupil to teacher ratio for more than 80 percent of schools in South Africa stood at 40:1 (Van Aardt, 1994:33).

*Table 6* emphasises the vast educational disparities that existed between the various population groups in South Africa during early 1990's. In 1990, only 37 percent of Black Standard ten candidates passed, compared with 96 percent of White candidates. Only 8 percent of Black candidates obtained matriculation exemption, compared to 41 percent of White candidates (SAIRR, 1991: 208).

*Table 6: Standard 10 examination results, 1990*

	<i>Candidates</i> <i>Number</i>	<i>Passes</i> <i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Matric Exemption</i> <i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
<b>Black</b>	<b>253 623</b>	<b>93 717</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>20 999</b>	<b>8%</b>
Coloured	22 315	17 721	79%	4 487	20%
<b>Indian</b>	<b>14 542</b>	<b>13 816</b>	<b>95%</b>	<b>6 615</b>	<b>45%</b>
White	68 979	66 131	96%	28 615	41%
<b>Total</b>	<b>359 459</b>	<b>191 385</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>60 716</b>	<b>17%</b>

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*Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1991: 208*

The educational system imposed during the apartheid era has held serious implications for literacy levels in South Africa (Van Aardt, 1994:28). According to *Table 7*, literacy levels were clearly defined along racial lines. In 1980, the Black literacy rate stood at 66 percent, while the White literacy rate reached 98,9 percent. In 1991, the Black literacy rate increased to 76,6



percent-still below the White level of 99,5 percent. Coloured and Indian literacy levels stood at 91 percent and 95 percent respectively. Between 1991 and 1996, however, racial disparities in literacy levels began to converge, as Black literacy rates increased significantly (Stats SA as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 242).

Literacy levels for the total population improved from 74,4 percent in 1980, to 85,9 percent in 1996. According to the Human Development Report, adult literacy rates for people 15 years and older stood at 84,9 percent in 1999. Mean years of schooling have also shown improvements, from 3,8 years in 1980 to 5,4 years and 6,1 years in 1990 and 1999 respectively (Human Development Report, 2000).

*Table 7: Adult literacy rate<sup>a</sup> by race 1980, 1991 and 1996*

<i>Race</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1996</i>
<b>Black</b>	<b>66.0</b>	<b>76.6</b>	<b>83.1</b>
Coloured	84.1	91.1	91.4
<b>Indian</b>	<b>91.6</b>	<b>95.5</b>	<b>95.6</b>
White	98.9	99.5	99.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>74.4</b>	<b>82.2</b>	<b>85.9</b>

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*Source: Stats SA as cited in De Souza, 2001: 242*

a For 1980 and 1990 adult literacy was measured by the ability to read, write and speak of people aged 15 and older. In 1996, adult literacy was measured by the completion of grade 7 or higher by people aged 15 years and older (De Souza, 2001: 242)

Educational levels at the outset of the transition were also characterised along racial lines. According to Census 1990, 11,7 percent of Whites, 17,6 percent of Coloureds, 14,3 percent of Indians and 20,1 percent of Blacks under the age of 18 had received no education at all. Similarly, 0,7 percent of Whites, 8,4 percent of Coloureds, 5,5 percent of Indians and 16,8 percent of Blacks 18 years and older had received no education at all (CSS, 1990).

Although access to quality education has been rendered more equitable since the transition, racial differences with regard to educational levels still persist. In 1995, 99 percent of Whites aged 20 years and older had received some form of secondary education (Std. 6 or higher), and 30 percent of White males and 24 percent of White females had obtained post-school qualifications. Only six percent of Black males and females had received post-school qualifications (Stats SA, 1995: 10). *Table 8* (Stats SA, 1999: 39) indicates that 33,9 percent of White males and 29 percent of White females had completed higher education, while only 5,2



percent of Black men and 5,5, percent of Black women had done the same. Similarly, only 6,3 percent of Coloured men and 6,6 percent of Coloured women had completed higher education, compared with 15,3 percent of Indian men and 13,4 percent of Indian women. The proportion of individuals that have completed matric within each racial category reflects similar disparities. In 1999, 45 percent of White men and 43,8 percent of White females had completed matric, while only 16,5 percent of Black men and 14,8 percent of Black women had done the same.

*Table 8: Highest education level of those aged 20 years or more by population group and sex, October 1999*

	Higher	Matric	Some Sec.	Complete Prim.	Some Prim.	None
<i>Male</i>						
<b>Black</b>	<b>5.20%</b>	<b>16.50%</b>	<b>34.80%</b>	<b>8.10%</b>	<b>22.30%</b>	<b>13.20%</b>
Coloured	6.30%	17.70%	39.40%	9.40%	7.20%	7.20%
<b>Indian</b>	<b>15.30%</b>	<b>38.10%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>2.40%</b>	<b>1.50%</b>	<b>1.50%</b>
White	33.90%	45%	19.60%	0.60%	0.20%	0.20%
<i>Female</i>						
<b>Black</b>	<b>5.50%</b>	<b>14.80%</b>	<b>32.50%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>21.60%</b>	<b>17.50%</b>
Coloured	6.60%	14.50%	39.70%	10.60%	20.10%	8.50%
<b>Indian</b>	<b>13.40%</b>	<b>32.20%</b>	<b>32.70%</b>	<b>4.40%</b>	<b>11.90%</b>	<b>5.40%</b>
White	29.10%	43.80%	24.70%	0.90%	1.20%	0.30%

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*Source: Stats SA, 1999: 39*

The educational system in South Africa is further characterised along gender lines. According to Statistics South Africa (1998:29), 23 percent of all Black women aged 25 and older had received no formal education at all, as opposed to 16 percent of Black men. Sixteen percent of Black women had received a matric diploma or completed higher education, whereas 20 percent of Black men had done the same. Fifteen percent of White men, eight percent of Indian men and two percent of Black and Coloured men had obtained university degrees, compared to only eight percent of White women, two percent of Indian women and one percent of Black and Coloured women. Fifty-five percent of people between the ages of 15 and 24 had not yet completed matric and were still studying. Of these, 25 percent were women and 22 percent were men (Stats SA, 1998: 29).

Although gender differences in education persist, vast improvements with regard to the representation of women in systems of higher education have been made. The information presented in *Table 9* suggests that the number of women attending university, college and adult

education institutions have superseded that of their male counterparts (Stats SA, 1999: 35). Similarly, 5,5 percent of Black women and 26,6 percent of Coloured women have received higher education (*Table 8*) compared with 5,3 percent of Black men and 6,3 percent of Coloured men (Stats SA, 1999: 39).

*Table 9: Number (thousands) of people attending educational institutions other than schools by sex, October 1999*

<i>Type of Institution</i>	<b>University</b>	<b>College</b>	<b>Tech.</b>	<b>Other</b>	<b>Literacy/ Basic</b>	<b>Adult education</b>
<b>Male</b>	142.9	113.3	125.3	46.8	17.6	12
<b>Female</b>	144.6	118.5	90.1	69.4	22.9	20.6

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*Source: Stats SA, 1999: 35*

Although racial and gender disparities persist with regard to education in South Africa, improvements have been made. *Table 10* reflects the proportion of South Africans with at least a Grade 12 qualification is increasing markedly. Thirty-six percent of South Africans between the ages of 20 and 24 have a least a Grade 12 qualification, compared with only 13,7 percent of South Africans between the ages of 60 and 64 (Stats SA as cited in De Souza, 2001: 241).

*Table 10: Proportion of people aged 20 and older with at least a grade 12 qualification by age, October 1999*

<i>Age category</i>	<i>Proportion with at least grade 12</i>
<b>20-24</b>	<b>35.90%</b>
25-29	40.50%
<b>30-34</b>	<b>33.80%</b>
35-39	27.80%
<b>40-44</b>	<b>22.50%</b>
45-49	20.60%
<b>50-54</b>	<b>20.10%</b>
55-59	17.00%
<b>60-64</b>	<b>13.70%</b>
65-69	13.70%
<b>70 plus</b>	<b>13.10%</b>

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*Source: Stats SA as cited in De Souza, 2001: 241*

Educational developments in South Africa over the last decade should therefore support a shift in the direction of more individualistic work values in South Africa.

#### **2.4.4) The South African business environment**

According to Harding and Hikspoors (1995), Kraut and Korman (1998) and Izzo and Withers (2001) a number of systemic level changes associated with the work environment should affect a work value change in the direction of individualization. Changing workplace policies and practices; the changing nature of the labour market due to the increased participation of women and minority groups; and the changing occupational and sectoral structure associated with the emergence of the knowledge economy should all have a fundamental influence on work value change in decades to come.

The South African business environment has undergone a number of changes over the last decade. The creation of a more democratic workplace, the entrance of previously excluded groups of the population into the workforce and the increasing importance of the tertiary sector in the South African economy are consistent with global trends and should impact on work value change in South Africa.

The South African business environment has experienced a number of changes over the last decade and has been characterised as highly turbulent and complex. South African businesses have been “caught between the ideologies and structures of the past and the ideals of the future i.e. between the racially exclusive capitalism of the white upper classes and the non-racial social democracy of the black under classes” (Human, 1991: 96).

Since the early 1900's, a divided workforce characterised the labour relations system in South Africa. The creation of this divided workforce started with the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and later gold, in the South African interior. Rapid industrialisation and a lack of skilled and unskilled labour accompanied these discoveries. A skilled and highly paid labour force from Europe and Australia entered the country, but failed to meet the need for unskilled labour. This prompted the government to institute a number of mechanisms with which to create an unskilled labour force. Laws were passed requiring black subsistence farmers to pay hut and poll tax, forcing young Black men into work at the mines in order to earn this tax. In 1911 the Native Labour Regulation Act was passed, making it a crime for Black workers to leave their jobs or strike. Black subsistence farmers were forced off their land in 1913 through the Land Act, and

the Works Act reserved 32 job types for White employees (Theron, 1996; Finnemore, 1998; Marais, 2001).

During the 1920's labour conflict escalated, prompting the government to pass the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1924. This act granted White trade unions statutory recognition but failed to recognize black workers as employees, thereby instituting a dual system of labour relations in South Africa (Finnemore, 1998: 35).

With the growth of the secondary sector in South Africa a number of Black unions with strong communist tendencies were established, encouraging the Nationalist government to pass the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950. Mixed trade unions were abolished and job-reservation in favour of White employees was extended.

Early in the 1970's a number of violent strikes by Black workers erupted, forcing the government to institute negotiating structures to deal with such outbreaks. The Bantu Labour Relations Act was passed, making provision for the settling of disputes through the use of employer initiated liaison committees. On recommendation of the Wiehahn Commission (1979), the government amended the Industrial Conciliation Act to include Black workers under the definition of "employee" for the first time. In 1981, the Industrial Conciliation Act was amended and passed as the Labour Relations Act, which extended full trade union rights to all employees within South Africa (Van Aardt, 1994; Finnemore, 1998; Marais, 2001).

Labour unrest continued, however, due to the fact that Black workers had now been granted industrial citizenship but still had no political rights. The industrial arena became a political tool used by Black employees against the apartheid government (Finnemore, 1998: 37).

At the outset of the transition, the South African business sphere was characterised by "racial exclusivity, conservatism and authoritarianism" (Human, 1991:96). It was characterised by the racial domination of a White minority over a Black majority, often referred to as "racial despotism" or "racial fordism" (Webster, 1999: 32) and included a number of policies and legislation<sup>18</sup> to stunt the social and economic advancement of people of colour (Van Aardt, 1994: 90). Black personnel were hesitant to accept capitalism as the dominant business logic, resulting

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<sup>18</sup> Legislation includes the Mines and Works Act of 1911, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, and the Native Service Contract Act of 1932 (Van Aardt, 1994: 92).

in the establishment of a strong union movement with strong socialist inclinations (Webster, 1996: 17).

Due to pressure from the union movements, the South African business environment experienced a transition from the despotic form of management practised during the apartheid years, towards an industrial relations system, characterised by trade union rights and collective bargaining. In the early 1990's, a number of South African organisations launched joint forums with the unions, based on the principles of information sharing, consultation and joint decision-making. In 1996 these forums were statutorily instituted and protected by a set of powers stipulated in the Labour Relations Act<sup>19</sup> (Webster, 1999: 32).

During the late 1980's and early 1990's, a number of South African firms adopted policies of Black advancement. These policies were referred to by various names, and include "black empowerment", "black advancement", "equal employment opportunities" and "affirmative action" (Van Aardt, 1994: 90).

The ANC government institutionalised a number of laws to ensure equal opportunity within the South African labour market. These include the Labour Relations Act, The Employment Equity Act (1999)<sup>20</sup> and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act<sup>21</sup>. Affirmative Action laws have been passed, greatly advancing the career opportunities of a Black middle class, and the government's support of Black economic empowerment has promoted the growth of a strong, Black entrepreneurial class (Marais, 2001: 193).

A number of policies and programs facilitating the entry of women into the labour market have also been instituted. In a study conducted by the Commission on Gender Equality, South Africa<sup>22</sup> (1999) on a sample of 103 South African companies, 53 percent of the total sample had a gender policy in place or was currently implementing one. These policies contained elements

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<sup>19</sup> Promulgated in November 1996, the Labour Relations Act gives "effect to the rights and obligations of employees and their unions as well as employers and their organizations in accordance with the fundamental rights of the constitution and International Labour Conventions." The Act also promotes collective bargaining and employee participation, promotes dispute resolution and labour peace (Finnemore, 1998: 157).

<sup>20</sup> Outlaws unfair discrimination in the workplace and compels employers to implement employment equity plans (SAHDR, 2000: 114).

<sup>21</sup> Passed in 1998, the Act regulates the right to fair labour practices by "establishing and enforcing basic conditions of employment." (Finnemore, 1998: 160).

<sup>22</sup> "Gender and the Private Sector" commissioned by the Commission on Gender Equality to evaluate the private sector's involvement in fair and equal gender practices. Use was made of a sample of 103 companies representative in terms of industry sector and female employee composition.

of equal opportunities for women with regard to advancement, recruitment and remuneration practices (Commission on Gender Equality, 1999).

Many of these companies were, however, not predisposed to a family friendly environment. Most of the companies in the sample afforded women the benefit of maternity and paternity leave, pension and medical aid, but only a small percentage made provision for in-house crèche facilities and counselling services for domestic problems. Two thirds of the companies had implemented an affirmative action policy and the majority of the companies focused specifically on the training and promotion of females within the workplace. A sizeable number of these companies also conformed to recommendations made by the Black Management Forum, which affords a disabled Black female employee the highest priority (GAPS, 1999: 3).

The South African business environment has been exposed to a number of transformatory influences over the last decade. The composition of the South African labour market has been radically transformed with the increasing entry of previously excluded groups. Furthermore, the occupational structure of the South African economy has been altered due to the shift towards more knowledge intensive forms of production. The following paragraphs shall examine these changes in greater detail.

#### **2.4.4.1) The South African Labour Market:**

The economically active population (EAP)<sup>23</sup> of South Africa has increased dramatically since 1991 (*Table 11*). According to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (as cited in Barker, 1999: 47) the EAP stood at 12,9 million in 1991. In 1996 this figure increased to 13,7 million (Stats SA as cited in Barker, 1999: 47) increasing to approximately 15,3 million in 2001 (Stats SA, 2001: 7). Similarly, all racial groupings reflect an increase in economically active persons between 1991 and 2001.

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<sup>23</sup> The EAP comprises all persons between the ages of 15 and 65 years who are working or are unemployed. This includes people employed in the formal sector and those who are self-employed, but excludes people of working age not available for work, such as full-time home-makers, pupils, students and those who are unable or unwilling to work. The strict definition of unemployment includes those individuals in the EAP who have: 1) not worked 7 days prior to the interview 2) want to work and are able to start work within a week of the interview 3) have taken active steps to look for work or to provide themselves with self-employment in the 4 weeks preceding the interview. The expanded definition of unemployment excludes the third of the above-mentioned criteria. The strict definition is used as the official definition.

*Table 11: Economically active population in South Africa (thousands)*

<i>Year</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Indians</b>	<b>Blacks</b>	<b>Coloureds</b>	<b>Whites</b>
<b>1991</b>	12 944	379	8 821	1 358	2 386
<b>1996</b>	13 785	414	9 888	1 429	1 945
<b>2001</b>	15 332	593	10 953	1 642	2 144

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*Source: compiled using data from Barker, 1999: 47 and Stats SA 2001 Labour Force Survey*

- a Development Bank of Southern Africa, based on Census data  
b Statistics South Africa, population census  
c Statistics South Africa, Labour Force Survey September 2001

When comparing the labour force participation rates<sup>24</sup> of the various racial and gender groupings, the inequalities reflected in the South African labour market become evident. *Table 12* indicates that 47,2 percent of Blacks, 62,5 percent of Coloureds, 60,5 percent of Indians and 67,7 percent of Whites could be classified as economically active in 1999 (Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 342).

*Table 12: Labour force participation rate by race and sex, 1999 (strict definition)*

<i>Labour force participation rate<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Male</b>	<b>54.60%</b>	<b>71.30%</b>	<b>75.30%</b>	<b>76.40%</b>	<b>59.40%</b>
<b>Female</b>	40.50%	54.60%	49.90%	59.20%	44.20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>47.20%</b>	<b>62.50%</b>	<b>60.80%</b>	<b>67.70%</b>	<b>51.50%</b>

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*Source: Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR 2000: 342*

- a Stats SA defined the labour force participation rate as the proportion of the working age population (between 15 and 65) that is economically active (employed or unemployed).

Between 1999 and 2001, the proportion of Black, Coloured and Indian individuals that can be classified as economically active has increased dramatically. The information presented in *Table 13* indicates that the labour force participation rate of Black South Africans increased to 57 percent, while the proportion of economically active Coloureds and Indians increased to 65,5 percent and 62,4 percent respectively. White South Africans displayed smaller levels of increase, and rose to 67,9 percent (Stats SA 2001, as cited in Dimant, 2001: 201).

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<sup>24</sup> The percentage of all people aged 15-65 years who are economically active (Stats SA, 2001: ii).



*Table 13: Labour force participation rate by race and sex, 2001 (strict definition)*

<i>Labour force participation rate<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>Male</b>	<b>61.50%</b>	<b>73.00%</b>	<b>75.30%</b>	<b>77.80%</b>	<b>65.10%</b>
<b>Female</b>	52.90%	58.80%	50.30%	58.20%	54%
<b>Total</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>65.50%</b>	<b>62.40%</b>	<b>67.90%</b>	<b>59.30%</b>

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*Source Stats SA 2001 as cited in Dimant, 2001: 201*

a Stats SA defined the labour force participation rate as the proportion of the working age population (between 15 and 65) that is economically active (employed or unemployed).

When comparing the labour force participation rate across the various gender groupings in South Africa, vast inequalities are apparent. In 1960, the women's share of the economically active population stood at 23 percent. In 1991, this figure rose to 39,6 percent (Barker, 1992: 3). Between 1996 and 2001, however, the percentage of economically active women in the South African population increased significantly. *Table 14* indicates that women made up 43,6 percent of the economically active population in South Africa in 1995 (SAIRR, 1996: 346). In 1999, this proportion increased to 33,2 percent (Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 342) and in 2001 it reached 54 percent (Stats SA 2001 as cited in Dimant, 2001: 201).

*Table 14: Economically active population by race and sex, October 1995*

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Proportion of total EAP</i>
<b>Black</b>	<b>55.50%</b>	<b>44.50%</b>	<b>9 925 000</b>	<b>69.10%</b>
Indian	65.30%	34.70%	426 000	3.00%
<b>Coloured</b>	<b>54.70%</b>	<b>45.30%</b>	<b>1 551 000</b>	<b>10.80%</b>
White	59.70%	40.40%	2 453 000	17.10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>56.40%</b>	<b>43.60%</b>	<b>14 356 000</b>	<b>100%</b>

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*Source: SAIRR, 1996: 346*

Despite the improvements regarding the racial and gender composition of the economically active population in South Africa, the South African labour market is plagued by high and increasing levels of unemployment. In 1993, unemployment levels in South Africa stood at 12,7 percent increasing to 16.9 percent in 1995 (Nattrass, 2000: 74). In 2001, unemployment levels in South Africa reached a high of 26,4 percent.



The racial inequalities reflected in these unemployment statistics are staggering. In 1993, the unemployment rates among the Black and Coloured populations more than doubled that of their Indian and White counterparts. In 1993, Black and Coloured unemployment rates (strict definition) stood at 15,7 percent and 15,1 percent respectively, while Indian and White South Africans reflected unemployment rates of 7,1 percent and 3,2 percent (Nattrass, 2000: 74).

Between 1995 and 2001, unemployment levels within all racial groupings increased (*Table 15*). Black unemployment levels (strict definition) increased from 20,7 percent to 31,1 percent; Coloured unemployment levels increased from 16,5 percent to 21,9 percent; Indian unemployment levels increased from 8,3 percent to 17,6 percent; while White unemployment levels increased from 2,8 percent to 6,8 percent (Dimant, 2001:214).

*Table 15: Unemployment rate<sup>a</sup> by race, 1994-2001 (strict definition)*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>1994</b>	<b>24.70%</b>	<b>17.60%</b>	<b>10.20%</b>	<b>3.00%</b>	<b>20.00%</b>
1995	20.70%	16.50%	8.30%	2.80%	16.90%
<b>1996</b>	<b>27.40%</b>	<b>13.10%</b>	<b>12.10%</b>	<b>4.00%</b>	<b>21.00%</b>
1997	28.30%	15.30%	9.80%	4.00%	22.00%
<b>1998</b>	<b>32.00%</b>	<b>15.80%</b>	<b>14.70%</b>	<b>4.40%</b>	<b>25.20%</b>
1999	29.20%	15.20%	15.60%	4.70%	23.30%
<b>2000</b>	<b>30.90%</b>	<b>18.90%</b>	<b>15.30%</b>	<b>5.80%</b>	<b>25.80%</b>
2001	31.10%	21.90%	17.60%	6.80%	26.40%

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*Source: Dimant, 2001: 214*

a Proportion of economically active population that is unemployed

The gender composition of unemployment portrays a dismal picture. The information presented in *Table 16* indicates that 38 percent of women and 22,5 percent of men were unemployed (expanded definition) in 1995. Approximately 47 percent of Black women were unemployed, compared with only 28 percent of Black men. Similarly 27,8 percent of Coloured women, 19,9 percent of Indian women and 8,3 percent of White women were unemployed in 1995. Only 17,8 percent of Coloured men, 9,9 percent of Indian men and 3,7 percent of White men were classified as unemployed.

*Table 16: Unemployment by race and sex, October 1995*

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total<sup>b</sup></i>
<b>Black</b>	<b>28.90%</b>	<b>46.90%</b>	<b>36.90%</b>
<i>Indian</i>	9.90%	19.90%	13.40%
<b>Coloured</b>	<b>17.80%</b>	<b>27.80%</b>	<b>22.30%</b>
<i>White</i>	3.70%	8.30%	5.50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>22.50%</b>	<b>38.00%</b>	<b>29.30%</b>

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*Source: SAIRR 1996: 359*

a Refers to the expanded definition of unemployment

b Figures may not add up due to rounding

Although unemployment levels have increased for all population groups between 1995 and 2001, *Table 17* suggests that the inequalities between the gender groupings are decreasing.

*Table 17: Unemployment by race and sex, 2001*

<i>Men</i>	<i>Strict definition</i>	<i>Expanded Definition</i>
Black	30.00%	39.30%
Coloured	21.10%	27.60%
Indian	13.90%	18.00%
White	5.60%	7.70%
<b>Total</b>	<b>24.80%</b>	<b>33.10%</b>
<i>Women</i>		
Black	32.30%	46.30%
Coloured	22.80%	33.00%
Indian	23.00%	28.80%
White	7.80%	13.10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.00%</b>	<b>41.00%</b>
<i>Country</i>		
Black	31.10%	42.90%
Coloured	21.90%	30.30%
Indian	17.60%	22.50%
White	6.60%	10.10%
<b>Total</b>	<b>26.40%</b>	<b>37.00%</b>

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*Source: Stats SA 2001 as cited in Dimant, 2001: 213*

#### **2.4.4.2) Occupational structure of the South African economy**

During the apartheid era, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians were largely excluded from the “mass consumption norms” which applied to Whites. Whites dominated the skilled and supervisory positions in the workplace, whereas Indian, Coloured and Black South Africans were largely concentrated within the elementary occupations. Inroads have, however, been made with regards to the occupational distribution in the country, as the number of Black skilled, supervisory, technical, semi-professional and white-collar workers are gradually increasing (Webster, 1999: 33).

The occupational structure during the early 1990's was clearly divided along racial and gender lines. According to Census 1991 (CSS, 1991: 9) 21,7 percent of Whites were concentrated in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations. Only 5,5 percent of Coloureds, 10,4 percent of Indians and 3,6 percent of Blacks occupied such positions. Twelve percent of Whites, 4,2 percent of Indians, 0,8 percent of Coloureds and 0,2 percent of Blacks occupied managerial, executive and administrative posts. A study conducted by the School of Business Leadership of the University of South Africa in 1990, showed that only 2,2 percent of managers and one percent of senior managers in South Africa's top 100 companies were Black. Similarly, only 2,6 percent of management positions were filled by Coloureds and 3,3 percent by Indians. (SAIRR, 1991: 241).

The racial inequalities associated with the lower-skilled occupations are staggering. In 1990, six and a half percent of Black workers and 8,3 percent of Coloured workers were unskilled, compared with 2,5 percent of Indian workers and 0,3 percent of White workers. White employees were largely concentrated in clerical/sales and professional/semi-professional/technical occupations, whereas the majority of Black and Coloured employees were concentrated in mining/quarrying/operator and production related occupations. Indians were largely concentrated in clerical/sales occupations (CSS, 1991: 9).

In 1995, 34 percent of employed Black males and 50 percent of females were employed in elementary occupations such as cleaning, garbage collecting and agricultural labour. Less than four percent of Black males and two percent of Black females occupied managerial posts. Thirty-five percent of all Coloured males and 42 percent of Coloured females occupied elementary occupations, whereas three percent of Coloured males and one percent of Coloured females found themselves in managerial posts. Fourteen percent of Indians were found in

managerial posts and only one percent found themselves in elementary occupations. Nineteen percent of White males were concentrated in the top echelon of the white-collar occupations, 29 percent occupied blue-collar positions and 17 percent occupied semi-professional/technical posts requiring post school qualifications (Stats SA, 1998: 35).

The racial disparities associated with occupational level continued into 1999. *Table 18* indicates that White employees comprised 54,8 percent of legislator, senior official and managerial positions. Blacks comprised 29.1 percent of such positions and Coloureds and Indians comprised 8,8 percent and 6,9 percent respectively. Blacks made up the bulk (78,5 percent) of those employed in elementary occupations, compared with only 3,2 percent of Whites, 5 percent of Indians and 16,7 percent of Coloureds (SAIRR, 2000: 346).

*Table 18: Employment by occupation and race (1999) as proportion of total*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Black</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Total<sup>a</sup></i>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	29.10%	8.80%	6.90%	54.80%	684 000
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>36.80%</b>	<b>6.30%</b>	<b>5.20%</b>	<b>52.10%</b>	<b>554 000</b>
Technicians and associate professionals	51.90%	9.80%	5.00%	33.10%	1 042 000
<b>Clerks</b>	<b>42.10%</b>	<b>14.30%</b>	<b>7.60%</b>	<b>35.80%</b>	<b>1 071 000</b>
Service, shop and market sales Workers	68.50%	10.90%	3.70%	16.70%	1 225 000
<b>Skilled agricultural and fishery workers</b>	<b>78.50%</b>	<b>11.50%</b>	<b>0.60%</b>	<b>9.40%</b>	<b>460 000</b>
Plant and machine operators and Assemblers	77.10%	13.00%	4,4%	5.40%	1 092 000
<b>Elementary occupations</b>	<b>78.50%</b>	<b>16.70%</b>	<b>1.50%</b>	<b>3.20%</b>	<b>1 901 000</b>
Domestic workers	87.20%	12.30%	0.30% <sup>b</sup>	0.30% <sup>b</sup>	799 000
<b>Occupation not adequately defined</b>	<b>59.40%</b>	<b>9.40%</b>	<b>8.00%</b>	<b>23.20%</b>	<b>138 000</b>
Occupation unspecified	48.70%	15.40%	5.10%	30.80%	39 000
<b>Total</b>	<b>64.30%</b>	<b>12.40%</b>	<b>3.80%</b>	<b>19.30%</b>	<b>10 369 000</b>

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*Source: Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 346*

a Figures should add up vertically but may not due to rounding

b Sample size too small for reliable estimates

Vast improvements have however, been made to ensure a more equitable composition of the South African occupational structure. The information presented in *Table 19* suggests that the proportion of Blacks employed in elementary positions decreased from 40,5 percent in 1995 to 33,3 percent in 1999, while the percentage of Blacks employed in artisan/operator positions increased from 25 percent to 32 percent for the same period. Similarly, the proportion of Coloureds employed in elementary occupations decreased from 40 percent in 1995 to 32,7

percent in 1999, while the proportion of Coloured managers increased from 10 percent to 15,4 percent. The proportion of Indian managers increased from 29.6 percent to 34 percent between 1995 and 1999, while the percentage of Whites occupying elementary occupations increased from 1,8 percent to 3,3 percent.

*Table 19: Occupation by race and sex, 1995-1999*

	<b>Total</b>								
	<i>Male</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>						
<b>Element.</b>		<b>27.3</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<i>Female</i>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>37.1</b>	<i>Total</i>	<b>31.5</b>	<b>26.5</b>
Artisan		35.5	41.5		8.7	11.5		24.9	28.8
<b>Clerical</b>		<b>18.1</b>	<b>17.8</b>		<b>31.5</b>	<b>28.8</b>		<b>23.4</b>	<b>22.4</b>
Man./Prof.		19.1	22.0		21.8	22.6		20.2	22.2
<b>Black</b>									
	<i>Male</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Element.</b>		<b>34.4</b>	<b>21.8</b>		<b>50.1</b>	<b>49.5</b>		<b>40.5</b>	<b>33.3</b>
Artisan		35.3	47.1		8.8	12.8		25.0	32.9
<b>Clerical</b>		<b>18.1</b>	<b>18.3</b>		<b>21.9</b>	<b>21.3</b>		<b>19.6</b>	<b>19.5</b>
Man./Prof.		12.2	12.7		19.2	16.4		14.9	14.3
<b>Coloured</b>									
	<i>Male</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Element.</b>		<b>36.6</b>	<b>27.9</b>		<b>44.4</b>	<b>18.8</b>		<b>40.0</b>	<b>32.7</b>
Artisan		28.5	41.3		13.1	13.8		27.6	29.2
<b>Clerical</b>		<b>15.3</b>	<b>14.8</b>		<b>31.7</b>	<b>32.7</b>		<b>22.4</b>	<b>22.7</b>
Man./Prof.		9.5	15.9		10.7	14.8		10.0	15.4
<b>Indian</b>									
	<i>Male</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Element.</b>		<b>5.6</b>	<b>8.2</b>		<b>6.9</b>	<b>7.3</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>7.8</b>
Artisan		35.5	30.1		17.4	16.9		29.4	24.8
<b>Clerical</b>		<b>28.2</b>	<b>24.9</b>		<b>48.1</b>	<b>45.1</b>		<b>34.9</b>	<b>33.3</b>
Man./Prof.		30.6	36.8		27.6	29.8		29.6	34.0
<b>White</b>									
	<i>Male</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Element.</b>		<b>2.0</b>	<b>4.3</b>		<b>1.4</b>	<b>2.0</b>		<b>1.8</b>	<b>3.3</b>
Artisan		34.4	24.1		3.9	5.2		22.0	15.8
<b>Clerical</b>		<b>17.7</b>	<b>16.5</b>		<b>58.6</b>	<b>46.8</b>		<b>34.4</b>	<b>29.9</b>
Man./Prof.		45.9	55.0		36.0	46.0		41.8	51.0

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*Source: Stats SA, 2001: 27*

Although improvements have been made with regard to the representation of women throughout the South African occupational structure, statistics indicate that women remain polarized in the South African labour market.

In October 1995 (*Table 20*), women comprised only 21.2 percent of legislators, senior officials and managers and 28,2 percent of professionals. In a study conducted by the Commission on Gender Equality (1999) of 103 South African companies, it was found that female employees

were more likely to occupy administrative and junior management level positions. Although women comprise the largest segment of the South African population, they are largely concentrated in the service, retail and manufacturing sectors, thereby engaging in jobs that are traditionally associated with the stereotyped domestic role of the female.

*Table 20: Employment by occupation and sex, October 1995*

Category	Male		Female		Total
	Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	462 000	78.80%	124 000	21.20%	586 000
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>226 000</b>	<b>62.10%</b>	<b>139 000</b>	<b>28.20%</b>	<b>364 000</b>
Technicians and associate professionals	553 000	47.90%	602 000	52.10%	1 155 000
<b>Clerks</b>	<b>438 000</b>	<b>34.00%</b>	<b>782 000</b>	<b>64.10%</b>	<b>1 220 000</b>
Service, shop and market sales workers	678 000	60.00%	457 000	40.30%	1 134 000
<b>Skilled agricultural and fishery workers</b>	<b>120 000</b>	<b>87.00%</b>	<b>18 000</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>138 000</b>
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1 084 000	89.00%	134 000	11%	1 219 000
<b>Elementary occupations</b>	<b>1 620 000</b>	<b>53.5%</b>	<b>1 416 000</b>	<b>46.6%</b>	<b>3 037 000</b>
Armed forces	19 000	89.00%	1 000	5.30%	19 000
<b>Occupation Unspecified</b>	<b>71 000</b>	<b>60.00%</b>	<b>48 000</b>	<b>40.60%</b>	<b>18 000</b>
Total	6 272 000	61.70%	3 879 000	38.20%	10 152 000

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*Source: Stats SA, 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351*

Improvements have been made with regard to the representation of women in the top echelons of the occupational structure. In 1999 (*Table 21*), the proportion of female legislators, senior officials and managers increased to 25 percent, while the percentage of female professionals increased to 45,7 percent (Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345).

*Table 19* indicates that the proportion of women occupying elementary occupations decreased from 38,1 percent in 1995 to 37,1 percent in 1999, while the proportion of women occupying managerial/professional occupations increased from 21,8 percent to 22,6 percent (Stats SA, 2001: 27).

*Table 21: Employment by occupation and sex, 1999*

<i>Category</i>	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	511 000	74.70%	171 000	25.00%	684 000
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>300 000</b>	<b>54.20%</b>	<b>253 000</b>	<b>45.70%</b>	<b>554 000</b>
Technicians and associate professionals	488 000	46.80%	553 000	53.10%	1 042 000
<b>Clerks</b>	<b>371 000</b>	<b>34.60%</b>	<b>699 000</b>	<b>65.30%</b>	<b>1 071 000</b>
Service, shop and market sales workers	684 000	55.80%	541 000	44.20%	1 225 000
<b>Skilled agricultural and fishery workers</b>	<b>349 000</b>	<b>74.40%</b>	<b>120 000</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>469 000</b>
Craft and related trade workers	1 153 000	85.10%	202 000	15%	1 355 000
<b>Plant and machine operators and assemblers</b>	<b>933 000</b>	<b>85.40%</b>	<b>158 000</b>	<b>15.00%</b>	<b>1 092 000</b>
Elementary occupations	1 066 000	56.10%	835 000	43.9	1 901 000
<b>Domestic workers</b>	<b>36 000</b>	<b>4.50%</b>	<b>763 000</b>	<b>95.50%</b>	<b>799 000</b>
Occupation not adequately defined	96 000	69.60%	43 000	31.20%	138 000
<b>Occupation unspecified</b>	<b>22 000</b>	<b>56.40%</b>	<b>16 000</b>	<b>41.00%</b>	<b>39 000</b>
Total	6 009 000	58.00%	4 353 000	42.00%	10 369 000

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*Source: Stats SA, October Household Survey 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345*

The changing nature of the South African occupational structure reflects a gradual trend towards a service/knowledge economy. Between 1995 and 1999, the proportion of managerial/professional occupations in the economy increased from 20,2 percent to 22,2 percent. The percentage of elementary occupations, however, declined from 31,5 percent to 26,5 percent between 1995 and 1999 (Stats SA, 2001: 27)

According to *Tables 22 and 23*, the sectoral structure of the South African economy reflects the global trend towards a more service, knowledge orientated economy. Between 1980 and 1999 agricultural output as percentage of GDP decreased from six percent to four percent, whereas services output as percentage of GDP increased from 46 percent to 64 percent for the same period (Institute for Futures Research, 2000: 6/16).



*Table 22: Structure of output for various countries and the world, 1980-1999*

<i>Region</i>	<i>Agriculture % GDP</i>		<i>Industry % GDP</i>		<i>Service % GDP</i>	
	<i>1980</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>World</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>61</b>
Low income	31	27	38	32	30	43
<b>Mid. Income</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>55</b>
High Income	3	2	37	34	59	64
South Asia	37	28	24	25	39	47
<b>Sub-Saharan Africa</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>50</b>
USA	3	2	33	26	64	72
Japan	4	2	42	37	54	61
UK	2	2	43	31	55	67
<b>South Africa</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>64</b>

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*Source: World Bank 1999 as cited in Institute for Futures Research, 2000: 6/16*

*Table 23: The changing structure of the S.A. economy, 1970-1999*

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Percentage of total gross value added</i>			
	<i>1970</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1999</i>
<b>Primary</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>10.9</b>
Agric, forestry and fishing	4.7	5	5	4.5
Mining and quarrying	14.9	9.2	7.3	6.4
<b>Secondary</b>	<b>27.1</b>	<b>30.6</b>	<b>28.9</b>	<b>26.5</b>
Manufacturing	20	23.3	22	19.9
Electricity, gas and water	1.7	2.4	3.2	3.6
Construction	5.4	4.9	3.7	3.0
<b>Tertiary</b>	<b>53.3</b>	<b>55.2</b>	<b>58.8</b>	<b>62.6</b>
Wholesale, retail, trade, catering and accommodation	13.9	13.9	14.3	13.5
Transport, storage and communication	6.7	8.3	7.9	10.7
Financial intermediation, insurance, real estate and business services	14.4	14.4	15.6	17.9
General government	13.8	14.2	16.0	15.0
Other	4.5	4.4	5.0	5.5

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*Source: SA Reserve Bank 1999 as cited in Institute for Futures Research, 2000: 6/33*

Furthermore, the occupational structure of the South African economy is expected to undergo a number of changes in the next couple of years. A 9,6 percent and 6,2 percent growth rate is expected amongst professionals and managers respectively. Little change is expected at the level of clerical/sales/service workers and a decline in employment is expected at the level of semi-skilled and unskilled workers (-3,4 percent) between 1998 and 2003 (HSRC, 1999:8). A decline in employment is expected in the mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas, water supply and the government section of community, social and personal services. An increase in employment in the construction, finance, estate and non-governmental section of the community, social and personal services can be expected (HSRC, 1999: 10).

South Africa also seems to be moving in the same direction as it's global partners by making increasing use of flexi-workers, casual labour, contract labour, subcontracting, home-workers, out-workers and agency workers (Webster, 1999: 33).

According to the statistics mentioned above, the South African business environment has indeed been exposed to a number of transformatory influences over the last decade. Most notable is the shift towards a more service/knowledge orientated economy, the increasing participation of women and previously excluded racial groupings in the labour market and the high and increasing levels of unemployment in the country.

#### **2.4.5) Gender developments:**

The socio-cultural values developed during colonialism and the apartheid regime have resulted in a culture of gender inequality in South Africa. Progress has, however, been made to redress a number of these inequalities within the private as well as the public sector.

The adoption of the Charter for Effective Equality (1994), the participation of a number of South African delegations at regional and international human rights, women's development conferences and the endorsement of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women (1995) have all been instituted to promote gender equality in South Africa (Commission on Gender Equality, 1999: 3). The new government has established a commission for Gender Equality as an independent Constitutional body and appointed an office on the status of women in South Africa. Furthermore, gender desks have been established at the national and provincial line departments (UNDP, 2000: 113).

#### **2.4.6) Human development and the provision of basic amenities:**

Human development has improved gradually in South Africa since the 1970's. In 1975, South Africa's Human Development Index stood at 0,648, increasing to 0,681 in 1985. In 1990, South Africa's human development index rating was 0,722, increasing slightly to 0,722 in 1995 and then decreasing slightly to 0,702 in 1999 (Human Development Report, 2001). In 1994, South Africa ranked 93 amongst 174 countries, but slipped slightly to position 103 in 1998-still well ahead of the majority of other African countries<sup>25</sup> (UNDP, 2000: 50). South Africa's ranking on the Human Development index renders it a medium human development country. It currently stands at position number 57 out of 93 countries in this category.

A number of improvements have also been made with regard to the provision of basic amenities in South Africa. According to Marais (2001:190), 30 percent of South Africans had no access to a safe supply of water close to their homes prior to 1994. By 1999, however the governments water supply program has reduced this figure to 20 percent. In 1994, fewer than 40 percent of South African households had electricity (Marais, 2001: 190); by 2000, 70 percent of houses in South Africa were linked to an electricity source (SAIRR, 2001: 319). Between 1994 and 1999, the number of households with telephones increased from 25 percent to 35 percent and the Housing Subsidy Scheme contributed to the building of some 630 000 houses by March 1999, with 44 percent of these subsidies going to female headed households (Marais, 2001: 190).

#### **2.4.7) Access to information technology**

Advances in information technology have drastically improved the access of advanced industrial publics to systems of mass communication. According to Inglehart (1977) the mass media challenges traditional world-views and value systems, and as a result, functions as a driver of value change. Up until the early 1990's, large sections of the South African population had been excluded from equal access to these communication technologies. Between 1986 and 1987, South Africa had only 319 radios and 97 television sets per thousand people (UNDP, 1990 : 153). In 1990, these figures increased to 326 radios and 105 television sets per thousand people (UNDP, 1993: 166) Recent statistics pertaining to radio, television and telephone usage reflect the rapid expansion of communication technologies in South Africa.

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<sup>25</sup> South Africa only falls behind the Seychelles, Mauritius and Tunisia in terms of human development.

Households with radios increased from 89,2 percent in 1996 to 90,7 percent in 2000. Similarly, households with television sets increased from 61,1 percent in 1996 to 66,5 percent in 2000. *Tables 24 and 25* indicate that differences do, however, exist between the various racial groupings in South Africa. Between 1996 and 2000, access to radios increased by 3,2 percent for Blacks and decreased by -0,8 percent for all other racial groupings combined. In 2000, 89,5 percent of Black households had radios, compared with 94 percent of households for all other racial groupings combined. Similarly, Black households with television sets increased by 16,8 percent between 1996 and 2000, although only 56,4 percent of Black households have access to television sets compared with 92,7 percent of other racial grouping combined (South African Advertising and Research Foundation as cited in Dimant, 2001: 343).

*Table 24: Households with radios by race, 1996-2000*

<i>Race<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Increase/decrease</i>
Nguni/Sotho	86.70%	89.50%	3.20%
English/Afrikaans	94.80%	94.00%	-0.80%
<b>Total</b>	<b>89.10%</b>	<b>90.70%</b>	<b>1.80%</b>

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*Source: SA Advertising Research Foundation as cited in Dimant, 2001: 343*

a According to AMPS, the category 'Nguni/Sotho' speakers designates Africans, and the category 'English/Afrikaans' includes Coloured, Indian and White racial groupings.

*Table 25: Households with television sets by race, 1996-2000*

<i>Race<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Increase/decrease</i>
Nguni/Sotho	48.30%	56.40%	16.80%
English/Afrikaans	93.20%	92.70%	-0.50%
<b>Total</b>	<b>61.60%</b>	<b>66.50%</b>	<b>8%</b>

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*Source: SA Advertising Research Foundation as cited in Dimant, 2001: 343*

a According to AMPS, the category 'Nguni/Sotho' speakers designates Africans, and the category 'English/Afrikaans' includes Coloured, Indian and White racial groupings.

Households with access to telephones showed only a 4.3 percent increase between 1996 and 2000 (*Table 26*). Again large differences can be detected between the Black racial grouping and the rest of South Africa. In 1996, only 14 percent of Black households has access to a telephone compared with 75,9 percent of households for all other racial groupings combined. In 2000, however, 20,2 percent of Blacks had access to a telephone, compared with 68,8 percent of all

other households combined (South African Advertising and Research Foundation as cited in Dimant, 2001: 343).

*Table 26: Household access to telephone by race, 1996-2000*

<i>Race<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>Increase/decrease</i>
Nguni/Sotho	14.00%	20.20%	44.30%
English/Afrikaans	75.90%	68.90%	-9.20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>32.40%</b>	<b>33.80%</b>	<b>4.30%</b>

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*Source: Dimant, 2001: 343*

a According to AMPS, the category 'Nguni/Sotho' speakers designates Africans, and the category 'English/Afrikaans' includes Coloured, Indian and White racial groupings.

Use of cellular phones has also increased dramatically since 1995 (*Table 27*). In 1995, 38 000 people had access to a cellular phone. In 1998, this number rose to 1 156 000 (Stats SA as cited in Dimant, 2001: 345)

*Table 27: Household access to a telephone by area, 1995-1999*

<i>Fixed line in dwelling</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999<sup>a</sup></i>
Urban	2 404 000	2 575 000	2 545 000	2 557 000	3 222 000
Rural	247 000	195 000	149 000	191 000	410 000
<i>Cellular phone</i>					
Urban	34 000	453 000	792 000	1 024 000	N/A
Rural	4 000	43 000	50 000	132 000	N/A
<b>Total<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>2 689 000</b>	<b>3 266 000</b>	<b>3 536 000</b>	<b>3 904 000</b>	<b>3 632 000</b>

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*Source: Stats South Africa as cited in Dimant, 2001: 345*

a In 1999 Stats SA placed households with a fixed line in their dwellings and those with a cellular telephone in their dwellings in one category

b As calculated by the South African Institute of Race Relations

Use of the Internet in South Africa has increased dramatically over the last two years. According to a report published by Media Africa and Acuity Group Holdings, 560 000 South Africans had access to the Internet through dial up modems by the end of 1999, an increase of 86 percent over 1998. In 1999, approximately 980 000 people had access to Internet through corporate networks, an increase of 40 percent over 1999. Some 1,8 million South Africans has access to the Internet

in 1999, reflecting an increase of 38 percent over 1998 (SAIRR, 2000: 194). According to the Human Development Report 2000, Internet hosts per 1000 people have increased rapidly from 1,2 in 1995 to 8,4 in 2000.

#### **2.4.8) Family patterns and structure in South Africa**

According to Castells (2000), Izzo and Withers (2001) and Grantham (2000), excessive individualization in modern society has led to the decline of the traditional patriarchal family. Global trends point towards an increase in the number of never married couples, co-habitation, divorces, extra-marital births, dual-income families and smaller families. These trends are largely due to societies' changing needs as more and more women enter the workforce, thereby challenging traditional gender roles and promoting the liberation of women throughout society. These changes in family structure and patterns ultimately have an impact on societal and workplace policies and practices.

An analysis of family structures and patterns in South Africa poses somewhat of a problem, as declining fertility rates and an increase in single parent families in South Africa do not exclusively point to the liberation of women in society. Instead, such statistics point to the poor socio-economic conditions in which the majority of South African women find themselves. Furthermore, South Africa has experienced a legacy of divided families resulting from the migrant system and domestic labour (largely amongst the Black and Coloured communities). These flexible family patterns, coupled with an increasing divorce rate, point not to liberation but rather to social fragmentation.

Marriage and divorce rates in South Africa are difficult to compare across various population groups. The Central Statistics Service's reports on marital status excluded Black South Africans, with the result that the most recent cross-cultural data can be found in the Census 1996 data. The high incidences of traditional customary marriages also make data collection problematic, since such marriages are not recognised by the State. The 1996 Census data, however, measured marital status as self-reported and shows a marked decline in propensity to marry in South Africa (Blacks were reported to be the least likely to marry and Whites were the most likely to marry).

The fertility rates in South Africa are still amongst the highest in the world, although statistics show a marked decline. Between 1950 and 1970, the fertility rate was at its peak and stood at between six and seven children per women. Between 1980 and 1995 it dropped to

approximately 4,5, children per woman. The current fertility rate stands at 2,9 children per woman. The total fertility rate of the white population declined to below the replacement rate in 1989 (National Population Unit, 2000: 42).

The reason for this high fertility rate is largely attributable to traditional African culture. Traditional African values emphasise the importance of the group and the promotion of many children to preserve the status and well being of the group. Children are seen as objects of pride that provide a social security network to parents in their old age (Van Aardt, 1994: 18). Childbearing in Sub-Saharan Africa is therefore characterised by an inherent paradox i.e. fertility is valued so highly that women are often pressurised into childbearing before marriage (National Population Unit, 2000: 42).

Complicating matters further is the fact that “marriage as an institution” has a cultural meaning vastly different to that espoused by our Western counterparts. In Westernised countries fertility rates correlate with marriage rates. A decline in marriage rates due to the liberation of women consequently leads to a decline in fertility rates. In Sub-Saharan Africa, especially amongst the Black population, this is not the case. Marriage is not highly valued amongst the Black and Coloured population in South Africa, since only a small and insignificant difference between marital and non-marital fertility exists. The high fertility rates amongst unmarried, single mothers (especially within the African and Coloured population) is in response to disempowering, patriarchal economic and cultural structures (National Population Unit, 2000: 45).

Despite this high incidence of fertility outside of marriage, fertility rates have shown a marked decline. The primary reason for this decline in fertility is due to the fact that the majority of women in South Africa assume the primary role for caring for children. Many families are female-headed with fathers absent from the home working elsewhere. The reasons as to why fertility rates are declining within the Black population is not due to liberalisation of the women, career aspirations or affluence, but rather a strategy for survival due to poor socio-economic conditions.

The lowering fertility rate can be explained by the increasing use of contraception in South Africa. In 1990, 50,4 percent of Black women, 66 percent of Coloured women, 70 percent of Indian women and 80 percent of White women were making use of some form of contraception. In 1998, these figures rose to 58,6 percent of Black women, 68,8 percent of Coloured women,



76,2 percent of Indian women and 79,8 percent of White women. This high use of contraceptive methods is indicative of the fact that women are assuming responsibility for their reproductive lives, albeit for socio-economic reasons and not due to career aspirations (National Population Unit, 2000: 46).

There is a high prevalence of single, women-headed households in South Africa, largely due to the fact that marriage is regarded as irrelevant for a large percentage of the African population (Jones, 1996:7). ) In October 1995, 29 percent of all women who had given birth at some time in their lives had never been married, whereas 57 percent of women who had given birth were married. Twelve percent of children under seven years of age were not living with either of their parents and 42 percent of children under 7 years of age were living only with their mother (SSA, 1998b: 9). Research shows that amongst the Asian and white populations “consensual and co-habitative” unions are still preferable (Jones, 1996: 7)

It proves highly problematic to compare familial structure and patterns in South Africa with those of developed, western counterparts. Although the nuclear family is not the norm in South Africa, due to a high incidence of single-parent families, it does not reflect the end of the so-called patriarchal family upon which the industrial society depended. Instead, it reflects the continued state of disempowerment suffered by so many of South Africa’s women at the hands of deeply rooted cultural traditions. The increasing use of contraception does, however, suggest that South African women are assuming responsibility for their reproductive lives, albeit for socio-economic reasons.

#### **2.4.9 Cultural values and work values in South Africa**

According to Inglehart (1977:55), the impact of culture on the formation of individual values should not be underestimated. Inglehart (1997:55) describes culture as “the subjective component of a society’s equipment for coping with its environment: the values, attitudes, beliefs, skills and knowledge of its people.” Inglehart goes on to explain that whilst economic, political and other external (systemic) factors are of the utmost importance, they are not decisive in defining human values by themselves. Instead, the continual interaction between subjective and objective factors, between an individual’s culture and the environment in which the individual finds him-/herself shape an individual’s values. Culture can be defined as a filter employed by individuals to interpret the external environment. This interpretation then impacts on value formation and change, which again impacts on culture and ultimately influences the

interpretation of the objective environment. Culture can therefore be regarded as an intervening variable in the value change process.

Esters model, discussed in Section 2.2.2, is consistent with this claim. The relationship between systemic level changes, culture and value formation is a bi-directional one. Culture, which reflects the historical heritage and life experiences of a particular social group is used as the means through which these individuals interpret their environment. These interpretations ultimately shape the individual's values, which in turn shape culture and ultimately affect the way in which systemic level changes are perceived.

It is for these reasons that the impact of culture proves essential in any analysis of value change where distinctions between various cultural groupings take place.

Previous research on work values in South Africa has been largely concerned with the management of cultural diversity in the workplace. As a result, researchers have focused on the differences in work value orientations between the various cultural groupings in South Africa - most notably the racial and gender groupings (Gowen, 1996; Theron, 1996; Godsell, 1983; Booysen, 1999, Wentzel, 1999). Research conducted by Lessen and Nussbaum (1996) suggests that South Africa comprises two dominant business cultures namely the Euro-centric business culture<sup>26</sup> and the Afro-centric business culture<sup>27</sup> and that workplace policy and practice should take both cultures into account.

Using the Cultural Profiling Analysis system, Gowen (1996:15) explored the differences in management style between White and Indian, Coloured and Black managers. Gowen's study showed little difference between the two cultural groupings with regard to work values. The only significant differences existed on the more humanistic work value orientations, prompting Gowen to conclude that this is evident of the extent to which organisational structures and systems can shape individual work values.

Similarly, Godsell (1981) examined the impact of race and class on work values. Her findings suggest that Black employees show a strong tendency towards collectivist values or Ubuntu<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Based on the principles of Anglo-Saxon individualism, is highly rational and experiential (Gowen, 1996: 13).

<sup>27</sup> Based on the principles of African collectivism (ubuntu) (Gowen, 1996: 13).

<sup>28</sup> Ubuntu is based on an African philosophy that believes the group is as important as the individual, and that individuals are more successful if they function in a group. It commends behaviour that works towards the common good, and values equality, sharing and humility to the group (Boon, 1996: 31).

values. Godsell concludes that these values will have a definite impact on the workplace in years to come.

The impact of gender on the nature of work values has also been extensively researched internationally (Elizur, 1994; Rowe and Snizek, 1995; Smith et al, 1998) as well as in South Africa (Booyesen, 1994; Flowers, 1988; Wentzel, 1999).

According to Rowe and Snizek (1995: 216), two broad approaches have been used to explain gender differences in work values, namely, the gender socialisation model and the social structural model. The gender socialisation model postulates that women's work values differ to those of men due to "pre-existing conditions" or "internal psychological processes" and are therefore formed before women enter the labour force. The social structural model attributes gender differences in work values to gender disparities within the workplace such as reward structures and opportunities for advancement.

As a result, little consensus regarding gender differences in work values exist. Some studies have shown that women place a greater emphasis on the extrinsic work goals such as good pay and working conditions, whereas men place greater importance on intrinsic goals such as growth and development. Other studies have shown that women are more intrinsically inclined than men, and place primal importance on the social aspects of work (Rowe and Snizek, 1995:218).

In a South African study conducted by Booyesen (1999:25) on gender influences on South African managers in retail banking, male managers placed more importance on performance, competition, domination, control and directive leadership than their female counterparts. Women managers placed greater emphasis on collaboration, participation, intuition, empathy, empowerment and transformational leadership.

The rapid influx of women into the South African labour market will undoubtedly have an effect on work values in South Africa. But will this influence occur in the direction of individualised values?

## **2.5 Conclusion**

As the preceding sections have shown, a number of systemic level changes have impacted on the South African population. The economy has recovered somewhat from the recession

experienced in 1993; human development indices have increased; general levels of affluence have increased; educational opportunities have improved significantly; the business environment has been radically transformed, incorporating previously excluded groups into a system of participative labour relations. Furthermore, the South African economy is following the trend set by advanced developed economies towards a greater tertiary sector. Given the theory on value change developed in Section 2.2.3, South Africa should undergo a slight shift towards individualised work values.

Differences in work values should, however, continue to persist between the various racial and gender groupings-although these differences should reflect some convergence between 1990 and 2001. Previously excluded racial groups (Blacks and Coloureds in particular) have been exposed to greater transformatory influences than their White and Asian counterparts. Educational opportunities have increased, general levels of affluence have improved and opportunities for upward mobility in the labour market have been greatly extended. Despite these improvements, vast racial inequalities still exist in the South African society. In spite of being under-represented in the top-echelons of the occupational structure, Blacks and Coloureds still bear the brunt of poverty and unemployment in South Africa.

Since the Black, Coloured and Indian population groupings have experienced the bulk of transformatory influences, they should display a stronger shift towards individualised work values than their White counterparts, eventually resulting in a convergence of values between the various racial groupings.

Greater convergence with regards to work values should also be experienced between the gender groupings in South Africa. The position of women in the South African society has been greatly improved over the last decade, as educational and occupational opportunities have been extended. Despite these improvements, women in South Africa are still exposed to the pressures of a highly patriarchal society, which will undoubtedly influence the nature of work value change.

Chapter three introduces the research methodology, the sample profile, operationalisation of key variables and the procedures used during the data analysis process. This will be followed by the testing of the propositions.

## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

*It is difficult to conceive of a human problem that would not better be illuminated if reliable value data concerning it were available (Rokeach, 1979:26).*

### 3.1) Introduction

Before the measurement process can proceed, the operationalisation of the key variables of the study, the sample, the instrumentation and the methods used deserve clarification. Scientific inquiry provides the researcher with a number of tools with which to facilitate the movement from abstract concepts towards more concrete observations. If such observations were left to casual inquiries by the human observer, knowledge would be tainted by inaccurate observations, gross overgeneralizations, false observations, illogical reasoning, ego-involvement, premature closure of inquiry and mystification (Babbie, 1989: 7). It is therefore the duty of the scientific researcher to employ the rules of scientific observation when observing reality (See also Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

Social science attempts to protect itself from these casual inquiries by employing the two pillars of science, namely the logic of rationality and observation. According to Babbie (1989: 17) “scientific theory deals with the logical aspect of science; research deals with the observational aspect; and statistics offer a device for comparing what is logically expected with what is actually observed.”

The first phase of the measurement process requires the operationalisation of the key concepts used in the study. Operationalisation (see also Manheim and Rich, 1998) involves the translation of concepts into something observable i.e. something that can be measured by “descending the ladder of abstraction” (De Vaus, 2001: 24). According to Babbie (1989: 128) operationalisation involves the “development of specific research procedures that will result in the empirical observations representing these concepts in the real world.”

Operationalisation is therefore the process by which observable indicators are developed to represent the abstract concepts of individualized/modern work values and traditional work values. The development of variables allows us to measure the existence of concepts and the relationships that exist between them. The process involves high degrees of accuracy and precision in order to ensure validity and reliability of the measurement process. The current

chapter will therefore commence with an explanation of the methods used during our descent from the ladder of abstraction, after which the results of the data analysis procedure shall be presented.

### 3.1) The measurement of values

Values are indeed a difficult concept to measure<sup>1</sup>. They are not directly observable and manifest themselves within equally complex concepts such as goals, needs, attitudes, preferences and behaviour (Rokeach, 1969). According to Joubert (1962:104) values can be measured using individual-centred techniques or culturally-centred methods. Individually centred methods regard individuals as the primary source of information, and include the analysis of choices that have been put forward in questionnaires. Culturally centred methods include the analysis of social structures and cultural patterns.

Similarly, Rokeach (1979:26) argues that values can be measured in two ways. Firstly, social scientists can draw inferences about an individual's values from his/her behaviour in structured contexts. But this proves problematic due to difficulties with interpretation and quantification. The phenomenological approach, in which researchers can request an individual to describe his/her values is also problematic, since individuals may be highly selective in their descriptions.

Broad consensus in the literature exists that values do in fact have a bearing on action (Rokeach, 1979: 26; Van Deth and Scarbrough, 1995: 22). Van Deth and Scarbrough argue that values function in the selection of appropriate actions and end-states of existence. They are difficult to measure due to the fact that they are not directly observable, but are tied with a "much larger array of ideas, beliefs, concepts and understandings before they can have effects for action" (Van Deth and Scarbrough, 1995: 31). Values can therefore be conceptualised as distinct from the afore-mentioned concepts (Rokeach, 1969), but need to be measured/researched in association with beliefs, attitudes and ideas etc.

Van Deth and Scarbrough (1995:33) suggest the measurement of values through attitudes, due to the proximity of attitudes to behaviour. Individuals observe a value (stimulus) and respond with an appropriate attitude. These attitudes then ultimately inform values as individuals learn from their own experience.

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed analysis on the measurement of values, consult Van Deth and Scarbrough. 1995. **The Impact of Values**. Oxford University Press, Oxford.



The reciprocal relationship between values and attitudes has important implications for value research. As values change, so too do attitudes and visa versa. This relationship of co-variance allows us to measure value change by examining and analysing data regarding attitudes.

The most appropriate instrument for the current study with which to measure individual attitudes is the survey<sup>2</sup>. Survey research allows the researcher to obtain attitudinal data from a relatively large sample and make inferences appropriate to the broader population. The current study will, however, make use of secondary data (discussed in subsequent sections) in a longitudinal time series analysis.

As with any form of social research, survey research is not without its criticisms. Survey research has been described as restrictive because it relies on highly structured questionnaires (De Vaus, 1996: 7). Researchers are often forced to design questions that will be minimally appropriate to all respondents, thereby rendering questions superficial and unable to tap the more complex problems associated with social life. Information gathered through the use of questionnaires is often void of context, which restricts accurate interpretation of the results. Survey research has also been described as artificial due to the fact that a respondent's response to a question may not accurately reflect his/her behaviour in a particular context (Babbie, 2001: 263).

Despite the shortcomings associated with survey research, it does possess a number of positive aspects particularly relevant to the current study. Survey research makes large and representative samples possible (Babbie, 2001: 263). The current study is dependent on data that is characteristic of the entire South African population. As a result, a number of different variables have to be analysed simultaneously in order to provide results that will allow accurate generalizations to the broader South African population. A survey the size of the South African World Values Survey will facilitate just that.

### 3.2.1) Secondary Analysis

The current study will make use of secondary data analysis by using the South African component of the World Values Survey 1990, 1995 and 2001. According to Dale et al (1988: 3) secondary analysis involves:

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<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed analysis on the use of surveys, consult among others: Babbie, E. 1993. **Survey Research Methods** and Neuman, W. 2000. **Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches**. Thousand Oaks, California.



*Any further analysis of an existing data set which presents interpretations, conclusions or knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the inquiry as a whole and it's main results.*

Secondary analysis may prove problematic due to the fact that the questions and indicators that have already been designed may not be the most appropriate for the purposes of the secondary analysis (De Vaus, 1996: 74). According to Reaves (1992: 15) the original purpose for which the research was intended may produce a deliberate or unintentional bias. Category definitions, particular measures and treatment effects may be inappropriate for the specific goals of the secondary research, thereby hampering the validity of the study. The questions relating to work values in the World Values Survey were, however, designed with a purpose similar to that of the current study and have been used in similar studies<sup>3</sup> attempting to analyse work value change. The current study has therefore made use of similar concepts, categories of classification and indicators used in those studies in order to ensure the validity of the current study.

Although secondary research carries a number of disadvantages, it proves beneficial in a number of important areas. Firstly, secondary research provides a useful starting point for further research by highlighting problem formulations, research hypotheses and methods. Secondary data also proves particularly useful for comparative purposes and serves as a basis for determining whether new information is indeed representative of a population (Reaves, 1992: 14). Secondary analysis is particularly appropriate for trends analysis where reliable comparisons over time are necessary (Dale, 1989: 45).

### **3.2.2) Longitudinal Design:**

As mentioned above, the current research will take the form of a longitudinal<sup>4</sup> trend analysis measuring work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. A trends study entails the collection of information from comparable samples over time and allows us to describe patterns of change and stability and establish historical and period effects (Babbie, 2001: 114).

Longitudinal studies can be descriptive or explanatory. Descriptive longitudinal studies enable the researcher to detect change or stability over time, the nature of the change and the direction of the change. Explanatory longitudinal designs aim at establishing temporal order,

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<sup>3</sup> See Zanders (1993) and Zanders and Harding (1995).

<sup>4</sup> For more information regarding longitudinal design see: Eye, A. 1999. **Statistical analysis of longitudinal categorical data in the social and behavioural sciences**. Erlbaum, New Jersey.

developmental and period effects (Neuman, 2000: 118). As mentioned earlier, the current study will take the form of a descriptive analysis, attempting to measure the nature and direction of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001.

Survey research proves the most appropriate data collection method for a trend study since it ensures standardization of the data.

The data used in the current study would, however, have been collected from different samples at each specific point in time. As a result, change will be measured at the aggregate level and not at the individual level. This overcomes a number of potential problems surrounding trend studies using the same individuals over a course of time, such as panel conditioning, maturation of the sample and mortality (De Vaus, 2001: 132).

### **3.3) Sampling**

Sampling refers to the process by which observations are selected for analysis (Babbie, 1989: 163). The aim of sampling is the selection of individuals from a population that are representative of the same characteristics and variations that exist within the population. The sample should therefore be representative of all the major characteristics and cleavages that exist within the population and reflect them in similar proportions to those that exist in the larger population. Accurate and representative sampling is therefore a crucial step in the research process, since it ensures the generalisability of the findings from the sample to the broader population.

The 1990 (Markinor), 1995 (Markinor and Market and Opinion Surveys) and 2001 (Markinor) World Values Surveys were conducted in English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and Xhosa (Kotzé and Lombard, 2002). Probability samples were drawn from the South African population 16 years and older. Probability sampling implies that the “sample will be representative of the population from which it was selected if all the members of the population have an equal chance of being selected in the sample” (Babbie, 1989: 169) i.e. all South Africans 16 years and older.

To further ensure the generalisability of the sample, the sample was stratified into homogenous sub-groups defined by province, gender, population groups and community size. Approximately 3000 respondents were drawn in all three waves, and data was collected through face-to-face

interviews though fieldworker assistance. The sample was weighted and projected onto the universe in order to increase the representativeness of the sample (Kotzé and Lombard, 2002).

### 3.4) Key variables

As mentioned in Chapter two, work values are a complex and multi-dimensional concept. In order to measure work value change in terms of the individualization thesis, it is first necessary to reach clarification regarding the work value dimensions that need to be measured. Once these dimensions have been identified, they need to be converted into empirical terms so as to ensure accurate and valid measurement of the concepts. The current study shall attempt to measure work value change in terms of:

- ❑ work values relating to work centrality
- ❑ work values relating to work preferences and work goals
- ❑ work values relating to power distribution in the workplace
- ❑ work values relating to authority in the workplace

The current study shall attempt to measure work value change in relation to the above-mentioned dimensions in order to ascertain the extent to which the individualization thesis is applicable in the South African context. According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: 5) it is necessary to “check each group, milieu and region to determine how far individualisation processes-overt or covert-have advanced within it. We do not maintain that this development has achieved blanket coverage of the whole population without differentiation. Rather, the catch-word individualisation should be seen as designating a trend.”

The “individualistic/modern” work value orientation and the “traditional” work value orientations are the main concepts under investigation. As mentioned in Chapter one, individualisation can be described as a process characteristic of both the first modernity (the advent of industrialisation) and the second modernity (the advent of informationalisation). In the context of the current study, “modern” work values signify those work values characteristic of second modernity individualisation, while “traditional” work values signify those values characteristic of industrial capitalism. Indicators relating these concepts to the various work value dimensions mentioned above need to be developed. The development of indicators for the two value orientations requires that the concepts be converted into empirical variables that function as indicators for the value orientations.

Due to the secondary nature of the current analysis, use must be made of questionnaire items already developed for the World Values Survey that will serve as indicators for the relevant value orientations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a similar study on work value change was conducted by Zanders (1993). Use shall therefore be made of the indicators<sup>5</sup> developed by Zanders in measuring work value change in Europe and North America between 1980 and 1991.

A more in-depth discussion of the variables and indicators used will be discussed in a later section in order to avoid confusion and facilitate coherence.

### **3.5) Data analysis and procedure**

Data analysis refers to the process by which the numerical values assigned to the key variables and indicators of the study are analysed according to sound mathematical and statistical procedures. Key variables and indicators are assigned numerical values through the process of coding. Coding enables the researcher to move from the mere observation of the key variables and indicators to data processing and then from data processing to interpretation (Manheim and Rich, 1995: 269).

The coding used in all three World Values Surveys proved sufficient for the analysis of dependent variables, but was deemed inappropriate for some of the demographic (independent) variables. Where necessary, categories were collapsed in order to render the data more manageable for purposes of interpretation (discussed in subsequent sections).

Due to the volume of data explored in the current study, use will be made of simple uni-variate<sup>6</sup> and bi-variate<sup>7</sup> analysis, as well as the comparison of means where appropriate. The aim of the research is to plot work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001, with specific reference to the difference between, and the changes within the various racial and gender

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<sup>5</sup> Although the indicators used in the current study are single-item measures, they have been used by Zanders in a study measuring work value change in North America and Europe between 1980 and 1991. Although limited, the indicators employed by Zanders were applied within the same conceptual framework of individualisation as that of the current study. According to Robinson et al (as cited in Nimmo and Bonjean, 1972: 110) "for assessing general levels of some attitude states...well-worded single items may do the job just as well as longer scales no matter how competently the scales were devised." We are therefore confident that the indicators used are valid measures of the concepts under investigation.

<sup>6</sup> The analysis of a single variable, for purposes of description (Babbie, 1989: 369)

<sup>7</sup> The analysis of two variables simultaneously, for the purpose of analysing the empirical relationship between them and subsequently used for explanatory purposes (Babbie, 1989z: 374).

groupings of South Africa<sup>8</sup>. In order to render the analysis more meaningful, differences between and changes within the various occupational and educational categories will be conducted for the 1995 and 2001 data. Unfortunately, these variables have had to be excluded from the 1990 analysis. The demographic categories of occupation and education used in the 1990 survey prove incompatible with those used in later surveys and do not allow for comparison.

As mentioned previously, work value change in South Africa will be analysed through the use of questions pertaining to four dimensions of work values, namely, work centrality, authority, work preferences and goals and power distribution.

In each case, the data will be presented through the use of frequency distributions<sup>9</sup> conducted through the use of uni-variate analysis, representing the responses of the entire sample to a single variable. Use will then be made of bi-variate analyses in order to represent the differences between the various racial, gender, occupational and educational groupings.

The sub-groups of the sample (independent variables) are determined according to demographic variables and include:

#### *Race*

- ☐ *Black*
- ☐ *White*
- ☐ *Coloured*
- ☐ *Indian*

#### *Gender*

- ☐ *Male*
- ☐ *Female*

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<sup>8</sup> Although a multi-variate analysis measuring the differences in work values between genders within the various racial groupings would be valuable, it proved outside the scope of the current study. Future research on the subject could, therefore, include an analysis of such a nature (see section 5.3)

<sup>9</sup> A description of the number of times the various attributes of variables are observed in a sample (Babbie, 1989: 369).

*Educational Level (measured according to the highest level attained)*

- ❑ *No schooling/minimum schooling (includes individuals with no schooling and some primary schooling)*
- ❑ *Primary school (individuals that have completed primary education)*
- ❑ *Matric (individuals that have completed secondary education)*
- ❑ *University degree (graduate and post-graduate degrees)*
- ❑ *Other post-matric qualification*

*Occupational category<sup>10</sup>*

- ❑ *Managerial/supervisory*
- ❑ *Professional worker*
- ❑ *Office worker (non-supervisory)*
- ❑ *Manual occupations*

Full demographic and employment profiles for the samples used in 1990, 1995 and 2001 are provided in Appendix A.

The data will be presented in the following formats:

- ❑ Bar graphs will be employed in order to compare the proportions associated with various categories. The bars represent the relative magnitude (proportion or percentage) associated with a specific set of observations (Fielding and Gilbert, 2001: 71).
- ❑ Where appropriate use will also be made of enumerative tables in order to provide a tabular representation of the more complex data and relationships.

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<sup>10</sup> The managerial/supervisory category includes respondents that are the employer/manager of an establishment with ten or more employees; employer/manager of an establishment with less than ten employees and supervisory office workers. The professional category includes professional employees and the self-employed. The office worker category includes respondents in the non-manual, non-supervisory office worker category. The manual workers include foremen and supervisors, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers and agricultural workers. Farm owners, the armed forces and those individuals that have never had a job were excluded from the analysis. The categories were recoded in such a way so as to ensure compatibility with white and blue collar classifications, and to allow for analysis in terms of the occupational categories applicable to the new knowledge economy.

### 3.6) Presentation of the data

The following section will provide a brief analysis of the key variables and indicators, question wording and logic, coding and data analysis procedures used for each variable. As mentioned earlier, the above-mentioned factors will be separately discussed according to different dimensions in order to avoid confusion. The general discussion of the key variables and indicators will then be followed by the presentation of the data associated with each dimension.

#### 3.6.1) Work Centrality

The position of work relative to other life domains such as family; friends and acquaintances; leisure; religion and politics can provide some insightful findings associated with the individualisation thesis. Scholars in the field postulate that work will decline in importance in relation to the family, due largely to the blurring of the distinction between work and family life associated with the new world of work (Beck, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001).

In industrial society, work was largely regarded as the mechanism used to define the individuals place and position in society. With the rapid increase of women in the labour market, the decline of the patriarchal family and the rapid disintegration of the boundaries between work and family life, the importance of work should display a slight decline, while the importance of the family as life domain should increase.

The position of work relative to other life domains was measured in all 3 surveys using the following question:

*For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is:*

1. *Very important*
2. *Rather important*
3. *Not very important*
4. *Not at all important*
5. *Don't know*



The life domains evaluated include:

1. *Family*
2. *Work*
3. *Religion*
4. *Friends and acquaintances*
5. *Politics*
6. *Leisure*

The 2001 WVS contained an additional category “service to others”, which was excluded for the purposes of comparison.

The response categories were recoded so as to exclude “don’t know”<sup>11</sup>. This enables the data to be categorized as interval data, and allows for the comparison of means. The data was measured on a scale of 1-4. 1 being regarded as very important and 4 being regarded as not at all important. The lower the mean score, the more important the domain in the life of the individual.

To ensure consistency of presentation and interpretation, the following trend encapsulations will be employed:

- A change smaller than 0,01= no significant change
- A change between 0,01 and 0,5= slight change
- A change between 0,5 and 1= moderate change
- A change greater than 1= drastic change

### **3.6.1.1) Work Centrality, 1991-2001**

To what extent has the position of work changed in relation to other life domains in South Africa? According to the individualisation thesis, the importance of work in the lives of individuals should decrease, while the importance of family should increase. With the rapid entry of South African women into the labour market, the associated feminisation of the

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<sup>11</sup> In each case the percentage of “Don’t Knows” was under three percent. According to Kent (2001: 211) researchers should be wary of excluding “Don’t Knows” from the data set. Treating such responses as randomly distributed missing data points, when they are actually the result of confusion or uncertainty may introduce bias into the data. The percentage of “Don’t Knows” present in the current question, are, however, so minimal that they can be excluded without biasing the data.

workplace and the re-definition of gender roles that are beginning to emerge in South Africa, one should witness an increase in the importance of family in the lives of the South African population.

In 1990, 1995 and 2001, family was regarded as the most important life domain, followed by work, religion, leisure, friends and politics.

*Table 28: Comparison of Means- Work Centrality, 1991-2001*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>Family</b>	1.11	1.09	1.06
<b>Work</b>	1.27	1.28	1.27
<b>Religion</b>	1.49	1.44	1.40
<b>Friends</b>	2.17	2.23	1.94
<b>Politics</b>	2.33	2.62	2.05
<b>Leisure</b>	2.07	2.04	2.45
<b>N<sup>12</sup></b>	2736	2899	3000

*(Range 1-4, 1=very important; 4=not at all important)*

Between 1990 and 1995, however, the importance of family displayed an increase in importance, whilst the importance of work remained relatively unchanged. The importance of religion and leisure displayed a slight increase, whilst the importance of friends and politics decreased slightly.

In 2001, the order of the value priorities expressed by the respondents remained relatively unchanged. Family was still regarded as the most important life domain, followed by work, religion, leisure, friends and politics. Between 1995 and 2001, the importance family increased, again indicating a trend in the direction of individualisation in South Africa. The importance of work remained relatively unchanged between 1990 and 2001, while religion displayed a steady increase in importance.

The South African population therefore reflects a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values. Although the position of work has remained relatively unchanged between 1990

<sup>12</sup> In each instance, N represents the number of cases present in the sample, and was calculated using an unweighted data set.

and 2001, the position of family has increased slightly since 1990, and should have an impact on the world of work in South Africa.

### 3.6.1.2) Work Centrality and gender, 1990-2001

To what extent does gender influence the importance of the various life domains of individuals? As mentioned previously, the rapid influx of women into the paid workforce and the subsequent increase in dual-income families, may lead to a decrease in the importance placed on work and an increase in the importance placed on family.

In 1990, male and female respondents displayed no difference in the order of value priorities expressed. Both genders regarded family as the most important life domain, followed by work, religion, leisure, friends and politics. Female respondents regarded family as slightly more important than the male respondents did, whilst male respondents placed slightly more emphasis on work than female respondents did.

*Table 29: Work Centrality and gender, 1990-2001*

Domain	Male			Female		
	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001
<b>Family</b>	1.13	1.09	1.05	1.09	1.10	1.08
<b>Work</b>	1.21	1.24	1.21	1.33	1.30	1.34
<b>Religion</b>	1.63	1.53	1.58	1.36	1.35	1.21
<b>Leisure</b>	2.04	2.01	1.81	2.09	2.06	2.07
<b>Friends</b>	2.15	2.15	1.95	2.19	2.30	2.17
<b>Politics</b>	2.18	2.51	2.38	2.47	2.73	2.53
<b>N</b>	1258	1435	1500	1478	1464	1500

*(Range: 1-4, 1=very important; 4=not at all important)*

In 1995, the order of value priorities remained unchanged for both genders, with family being regarded as the most important life domain followed by work, religion, leisure, friends, politics and religion.

Between 1990 and 1995, the importance placed on family increased slightly amongst the male respondents, and decreased slightly amongst the female respondents. As a result, in 1995 male

respondents placed slightly more importance on the position of family than their female counterparts did. Between 1990 and 1995, the importance of work decreased slightly amongst the majority of male respondents and increased slightly amongst the female respondents.

In 2001, the order of the value priorities of male respondents remained relatively unchanged from those expressed in 2001. Family was still regarded as the most important life domain, followed by work, religion, leisure, friends and politics. The importance of work increased slightly between 1995 and 2001-bringing it equal with 1990 levels. The importance placed on family, however, increased slightly between 1995 and 2001.

The order of value priorities expressed by the female respondents shifted slightly in 2001. Family was regarded as the most important domain, followed by religion, work, friends, leisure and politics. Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of family increased in importance for the majority of female respondents-reaching levels similar to those of 1990, while the importance placed on work decreased slightly.

The data therefore suggests that both male and female respondents reflect a slight shift towards individualised work values between 1990 and 2001. This shift is however, greater amongst the male respondents who display a stronger increase in the importance placed on family between 1990 and 2001, thereby suggesting a shift in favour of individualisation amongst South African males. Although male respondents display relatively no change with regard to the importance placed on work between 1990 and 2001, increased support for family as life domain should indeed affect the work environment of South Africa.

### **3.6.1.3) Work centrality and race, 1990-2001**

The various race groups in South Africa have been exposed to different experiences of socialization and should, as a result, display different tendencies in terms of work and family centrality. Similarly, the different racial groupings in South Africa have been exposed to different working environments and conditions, and should therefore differ with regard to the meaning attached to work. All racial groupings should, however, display a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although White respondents should display stronger tendencies towards individualisation than their Black, Indian and Coloured counterparts.

In 1990, all the racial groupings regarded family as the most important life domain. The White, Black and Indian population groups regarded work as the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important life domain, followed by religion. The Coloured population grouping deviated slightly from this pattern and regarded religion as the second most important life domain, followed by work. Indian and Coloured respondents placed the highest importance on the family domain compared with the other population groupings, while the White respondents placed the least importance on the importance of work when compared with the other population groups.

In 1995, all population groups continued to regard family as the most important life domain. Black and Indian respondents regarded work as the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important life domain followed by religion. White and Coloured respondents regarded religion as the second most important domain followed by work.

Between 1990 and 1995 all population groups displayed a slight increase in the importance of family. Black, Coloured and Indian population groups all reflect a slight decline in the importance of work, while White respondents displayed a slight increase in the importance of work.

*Table 30: Work centrality and race, 1990-2001*

Domain	White			Indian			Black			Coloured		
	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001
<b>Family</b>	1.12	1.08	1.07	1.06	1.01	1.02	1.12	1.10	1.06	1.07	1.06	1.07
<b>Work</b>	1.59	1.53	1.72	1.18	1.20	1.24	1.16	1.21	1.19	1.33	1.40	1.26
<b>Religion</b>	1.68	1.46	1.56	1.31	1.20	1.13	1.48	1.46	1.42	1.26	1.24	1.13
<b>Leisure</b>	1.95	1.68	1.52	2.03	1.92	1.89	2.12	2.15	2.02	2.00	1.82	1.90
<b>Friends</b>	2.00	1.55	1.44	1.90	1.77	1.96	2.26	2.41	2.17	2.07	2.08	2.06
<b>Politics</b>	2.33	2.70	2.98	1.31	2.72	3.00	2.18	2.56	2.28	3.05	3.00	2.77
<b>N</b>	1236	725	899	200	196	299	1100	1592	1303	200	386	499

*(Range: 1-4, 1=very important; 4=not at all important)*

In 2001, all population groups continued to regard the family as the most important life domain. For the Black population group, work was regarded as the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important life domain, followed by religion. For the Coloured and Indian population, religion was regarded as the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important life domain followed by work. The White population group deviates from this

pattern. Friends are regarded as the second most important life domain, followed by leisure, religion, work and politics.

Between 1990 and 2001, the Black, White and Indian population groups display a slight shift in the direction of individualisation. All display a slight increase in the importance placed on family and a decrease in the importance placed on work. Coloured respondents, however, display little difference in the importance placed on family and a slight increase in the importance placed on work.

### 3.6.1.4) Work Centrality and education, 1995-2001

To what extent does educational level influence the importance of work in the lives of South Africans? According to the individualisation thesis, one could expect the importance of family to be greater amongst the more highly educated groupings, while the lower educational groupings should place slightly more emphasis on the importance of work than their more highly educated counterparts do.

*Table 31: Work centrality and education, 1995-2001*

Domain	None		Primary		Matric		Post-Matric		University	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
Family	1.13	1.06	1.08	1.10	1.04	1.04	1.06	1.02	1.13	1.02
Work	1.29	1.31	1.22	1.23	1.34	1.34	1.36	1.21	1.35	1.37
Religion	1.41	1.35	1.44	1.36	1.43	1.48	1.55	1.33	1.50	1.66
Leisure	2.26	2.16	2.03	1.95	1.77	1.72	1.83	2.18	1.70	1.84
Friends	2.42	2.17	2.30	2.14	1.93	1.85	1.81	2.20	1.65	1.84
Politics	2.75	2.66	2.58	2.48	2.55	2.55	2.62	1.94	2.48	2.57
N	681	451	1214	1240	628	814	209	354	167	141

*(Range: 1-4, 1=very important; 4=not at all important)*

In 1995, little difference existed between the various educational groupings with regarding the order of value priorities. All educational groupings regarded family as the most important life domain, followed by work and religion. The lower educational groupings do place slightly more emphasis on the importance of work than their more highly educated counterparts. No significant difference with regard to the importance of family could be detected.



In 2001, little differences existed in the position of the first three value priorities between the educational levels. All educational levels regarded family as the most important life domain, followed by work and then religion.

Between 1995 and 2001, however, the various educational groupings display differing trends with regard to work centrality. Respondents with no education, only a primary education and a university degree display a slight decrease in the importance placed on work, while respondents with a post-matric qualification other than a university degree show a slight increase in the importance placed on work. Respondents with a matric remain unchanged in their position on work. Respondents with no education, a university degree and a post-matric qualification other than a university degree, display a slight increase in the importance of family. Respondents with a primary school education and matric display no significant changes with regard to the importance of family. No significant trends can therefore be detected when cross-tabulating education with work centrality.

### 3.6.1.5) Work centrality and occupation, 1995-2001

According to the individualisation thesis, occupational level should have an impact on the importance placed on the various life domains of an individual. Employees in the higher occupational groupings should place greater emphasis on the importance of family due to the changing nature of work in these occupations and the subsequent blurring distinction between work and family life.

*Table 32: Work centrality and occupation, 1995-2001*

	<b>Managerial</b>		<b>Professional</b>		<b>Office worker</b>		<b>Manual worker</b>	
<b>Domain</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>Family</b>	1.07	1.04	1.08	1.01	1.05	1.05	1.09	1.10
<b>Work</b>	1.31	1.53	1.34	1.36	1.40	1.30	1.23	1.22
<b>Religion</b>	1.54	1.62	1.44	1.49	1.36	1.31	1.41	1.36
<b>Leisure</b>	1.80	1.58	1.74	1.70	1.73	1.82	2.13	2.01
<b>Friends</b>	1.88	1.71	1.71	1.78	1.74	1.73	2.35	2.14
<b>Politics</b>	2.57	2.84	2.51	2.45	2.59	2.60	2.61	2.44
<b>N</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>1262</b>	<b>1254</b>

*(Range: 1-4, 1=very important; 4=not at all important)*



In 1995, all occupational groupings regarded the family as the most important life domain. Supervisory, professional and manual workers regarded work as the second most important life domain followed by religion. Office workers differed from this pattern slightly, as they regarded religion as the second most important life domain, followed by work. Respondents in the manual worker occupations placed slightly more emphasis on work and slightly less emphasis on family than respondents in the higher occupational levels.

In 2001, all occupational levels regarded family as the most important life domain, followed by work and then religion. Those respondents in the lower occupational groupings placed slightly more emphasis on the importance of work and slightly less emphasis on the importance of family than the other occupational groupings.

Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of family increased slightly for those respondents in the supervisory and professional occupations, while the importance of work decreased slightly, reflecting a slight trend in the direction of individualisation for these occupational categories. Respondents in the office worker occupations reflected no change with regard to the importance placed on family, while respondents in the manual worker occupations placed decreasing emphasis on the importance of family and increasing support for the importance of work.

The data therefore indicates that respondents in the higher occupational groupings are experiencing a slight individualisation of values relating to work centrality. This may largely be due to the changing nature of work within these occupational categories and the subsequent blurring of boundaries between work and family life amongst these occupational groupings. Respondents in the manual worker occupations, however, reflect a value change in opposition to individualization, by placing increasing importance on the position of work and decreasing importance on the position of the family.

#### **3.6.1.6) Summary of results**

The data presented above reflects a slight trend in the direction of individualised work values for the South African population. Although means scores relating to the importance of work have remained relatively unchanged between 1990 and 2001, mean scores reflecting the importance of family have decreased slightly between 1990 and 2001-suggesting a shift towards individualised work values.

A convergence of values relating to the importance of family can be detected when comparing the mean scores of the various gender groupings. Although female mean scores remained relatively unchanged between 1990 and 2001, male mean scores decreased slightly for the period.

Black, White and Indian respondents display a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001. Coloured respondents, however, display a slight shift towards traditional work values relating to work centrality.

Respondents situated towards the top of the occupational structure reflect a slight trend in the direction of individualised work values. Respondents in both the managerial and professional categories displayed a decrease in the importance placed on work and an increase in the importance placed on family. Respondents in the office worker and manual occupations, however, reflect a trend in opposition to the individualisation thesis. Between 1995 and 2001, respondents in these occupational categories placed decreasing importance on family and increasing importance on work as life domain.

### **3.6.2) Work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation, 1990-2001**

According to Zanders (1993:147), work can be considered either from an individual perspective, or from a meso-organisational perspective. The history of labour relations reflects a number of organisational perspectives, ranging from capitalist to collectivist models. The difference between these models is based upon the nature of the distribution of power throughout the organisation. The individualisation theory suggests that support for participatory and capitalist models of power distribution will increase as societies become increasingly individualised.

In 1990, 1995 and 2001, the South African component of the World Values Survey measured orientations associated with power distribution in the workplace through the following question:

*There is a lot of discussion about how business and industry should be managed. Which of these four statements comes closest to your opinion*

- 1. The owners should run their business or appoint the managers*
- 2. The owners and the employees should participate in the selection of managers*
- 3. The government should be the owner and appoint the managers*

4. *The employees should own the business and should elect the managers*

5. *Don't know*

Response category one refers to a capitalistic orientation towards management, while response category two reflects a participatory orientation towards management. Response category three reflects a socialistic orientation towards the management of business and industry and response category four suggests a collectivist orientation. Support for response category one would reflect a highly individualistic orientation towards management, while support for response category four would reflect a highly traditional attitude towards management. Response categories two and three reflect intermediate orientations (Zanders, 1993).

To ensure consistency of presentation and interpretation, the following trend encapsulations will be employed:

- ❑ Percentage change smaller than 1=no significant change
- ❑ Percentage change between 1 and 5=slight change
- ❑ Percentage change between 5 and 15=moderate change
- ❑ Percentage change greater than 15=drastic change

### **3.6.2.1) Power distribution, 1990-2001**

According to the individualisation thesis, South Africa should experience a shift in favour of the individualistic orientation towards the distribution of power in the organisation. As discussed in Chapter two, South African business has been exposed to a number of influences in line with those experienced by advanced industrial democracies. As South African industry continues to penetrate the global capitalist market, we should witness a shift in favour of the capitalist model of power distribution and management.

South African respondents do indeed display strong tendencies in favour of individualistic work values relating to the distribution of power in the organization. In 1990, the majority of respondents (41,8%) supported the participatory model of power distribution. Forty percent of respondents supported the capitalistic model and only a minority of respondents supported the socialistic (8%) and collectivist (6,9%) models.

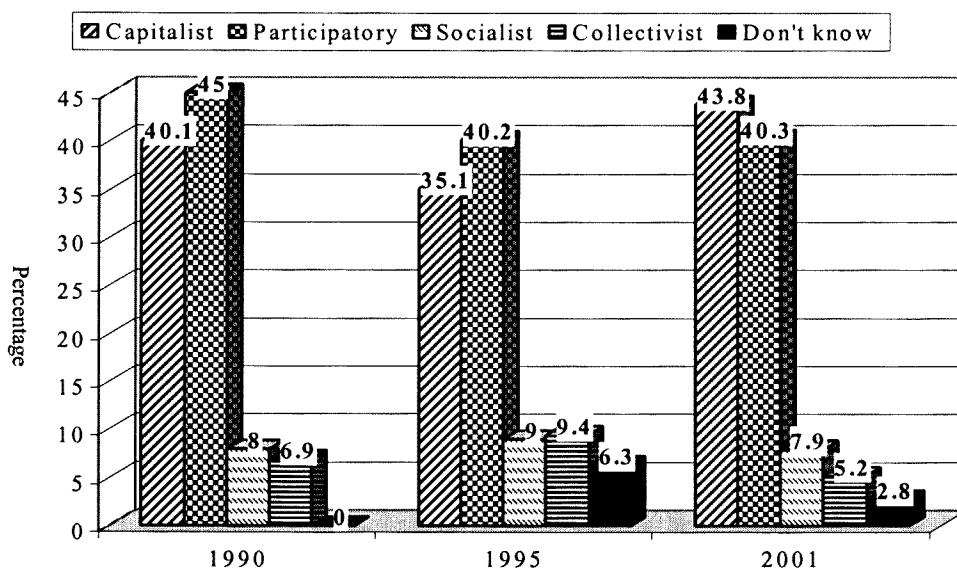
In 1995, the majority of respondents (40,2%) still supported the participatory model, while 35,1% supported the capitalistic model. Support for the socialistic and collectivist models stood at 9% and 9,4% respectively. Between 1990 and 1995 support for both participatory and capitalistic models decreased slightly while support for the socialistic and collectivist models increased slightly.

The 2001 data displays a definite shift in favour of the capitalistic model of power distribution. In 2001, the majority of respondents (43,8%) supported the capitalistic model of power distribution. Forty percent of respondents supported the participatory model; 7,9% supported the socialist model and 5,2% supported the collectivist model. Between 1995 and 2001 there was a moderate shift in the order of value priorities expressed by respondents in favour of the capitalist model of power distribution. Support for the participatory model remained relatively unchanged between 1995 and 2001, while support for the socialist and collectivist models decreased slightly in favour of the capitalistic model.

The South African public reflects a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation. Although data reflected in 1995 suggests a shift in the direction of more traditional work values, support for the socialistic and collectivistic orientations decreased again in 2001.

*Chart 1: Power Distribution, 1990-2001*

(1990 N=2736; 1995 N=2899; 2001 N=3000)



### 3.6.2.2) Power distribution and gender, 1990-2001

According to the individualisation thesis, both male and female South Africans should reflect a value shift in the direction of individualised work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation.

The 1990 data shows little difference in the order of the value priorities expressed by male and female respondents. In 1990, the majority of male respondents (45,3%) supported the participatory model of power distribution, whereas 40,3% of male respondents supported the capitalistic model. Only a small percentage of male respondents supported the socialist and collectivist models (7,4% and 6,9%) respectively. Similarly, the majority of female respondents (44,6%) supported the participatory model. Forty percent of female respondents supported the capitalist model, while 8,6% supported the socialist model and 6,8% supported the collectivist model.

*Table 33: Power distribution and gender, 1990-2001*

	Male			Female		
	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001
<b>Capitalist</b>	40.3	34.6	49.5	40	35.5	37.2
<b>Participatory</b>	45.3	43.4	33.6	44.6	37.2	47.5
<b>Socialist</b>	7.4	8.1	9.3	8.6	9.9	6.4
<b>Collectivist</b>	6.9	9.4	5.7	6.8	9.4	4.6
<b>Don't know</b>	0	2.1	1	0	4.2	3.9
<b>N</b>	1212	1435	1500	1362	1464	1500

In 1995 the majority of male respondents (43,4%) supported the participatory model, while 34,6% supported the capitalist model. Eight percent of male respondents supported the socialistic model and 9,4% supported the collectivist model. Similarly, the majority of female respondents (37,2%) supported the participatory model. Thirty five percent of female respondents supported the capitalist model, 9,9% supported the socialist model and 9,4% supported the collectivist model.

Between 1990 and 1995, both male and female respondents displayed a slight shift in favour of traditional work values. Both male and female respondents displayed a decrease in support for

the capitalistic and participatory models in favour of an increase in support for the socialistic and collectivist forms of power distribution.

The 2001 data displays a slight difference in the order of value priorities expressed by male and female respondents. In 2001, the majority of male respondents (49,5%) supported the capitalistic model of power distribution. Thirty-four percent of male respondents supported the participatory model, while 9,3% supported the socialist model and 5,7% supported the collectivist models. The majority of female respondents (47,5%) continued to endorse the participatory model. Thirty-eight percent supported the capitalistic model, 6,4% supported the socialistic model and 4,6% supported the collectivist model.

Between 1995 and 2001, male support for the capitalist model of power distribution increased by 14,9 percent. Support for the participatory and collectivistic models decreased, reflecting a moderate trend in favour of individualistic work values amongst the male respondents. Between 1995 and 2001, female support for the participatory model increased by 10,3%, while support for the capitalistic model increased by a slight 2,2%. Support for all other response categories decreased, thereby reflecting a shift in the direction of individualised work values amongst female respondents.

### **3.6.2.3) Power distribution and race, 1990-2001**

The legacy of a dual system of labour relations based primarily on racial cleavages should have an impact on the nature and distribution of work values in South Africa. Traditionally, Black employees displayed strong socialistic tendencies towards the distribution of power throughout industry in South Africa, due largely to the exclusion of these racial groupings from mainstream industrial relations practices during the apartheid era. To what extent has this legacy impacted upon the formation of individualised work values in South Africa, and do these racial differences still persist? According to the individualisation thesis, all racial groupings should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1995 and 2001. White respondents, should however, display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts.

In 1990, the White respondents displayed the strongest tendency towards individualised work values relating to the distribution of power. The majority of White respondents (54,5%) supported the capitalist model of power distribution. Forty-one percent of White respondents



supported the participatory model and only a minority supported the socialist and collectivist models. Similarly, the majority of Indian respondents (45,7%) supported the capitalistic model, while 41,3% supported the participatory model. The majority of Black (46,1%) and Coloured (47,6%) supported the participatory model of power distribution in the workplace. Thirty-four percent of Black and 45,8% of Coloured respondents supported the capitalistic model. Black respondents showed proportionately higher support for both the socialistic and collectivist models compared with the other racial groupings. Almost 12% of Black respondents supported the socialistic model, while 8,1% supported the collectivist model

*Table 34: Power Distribution and race, 1990-2001:*

	White			Indian			Black			Coloured		
	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001	1990	1995	2001
<b>Capitalist</b>	54.5	61.3	62.3	45.7	46.5	61.8	34	27.8	39.1	45.8	45.7	46.7
<b>Participatory</b>	41.1	32.7	29.9	41.3	40.7	30.0	46.1	42.4	42.2	47.6	35	44.2
<b>Socialist</b>	0.6	0.9	1.0	4.3	4.3	0.5	11.8	11.7	10.6	1.2	2.9	0.5
<b>Collectivist</b>	3.9	3.6	0.8	8.7	6.9	0.2	8.1	10.9	3.5	5.4	7.5	6.3
<b>Don't know</b>	0	7.2	0.2	0	7.2	1.4	0	1.5	3.3	0	8.9	2.3
<b>N</b>	1196	725	899	181	196	299	1031	1592	1303	166	386	499

In 1995, the majority of White (61,3%) and Indian respondents (46.5%) again supported the capitalistic model thereby displaying strong support for individualistic work values. Similarly, the majority of Coloured respondents (45,7%) supported the capitalistic model, while the majority of Black respondents (42.4%) still supported the participatory model. Only 27,8% of Black respondents supported the capitalistic model, while 11,7% supported the socialistic model and 10,9% supported the collectivist model.

Between 1990 and 1995, White respondents reflect a 6,8% increase in support of the capitalistic model, thereby reflecting a trend in the direction of individualisation. Similarly, Indian respondents reflect an increase in support for the capitalistic model and a decrease in support for all other models of power distribution. Black and Coloured respondents, however, displayed a trend in the direction of traditional work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation. Between 1990 and 1995, both racial groupings displayed a decrease in support for the capitalistic and participatory models, and an increase in support for the socialist and collectivist models.



Between 1995 and 2001, both White and Indian racial groupings display an increase in support for capitalistic work values and a decrease in support for all other orientations, thereby reflecting a tendency in favour of individualised work values. Coloured respondents displayed an increase in support for both the capitalistic and the participatory models and a decrease in support for the traditional models, thereby also suggesting a shift in the direction of individualised work values. Similarly, Black respondents displayed an increase in support for the capitalistic model and a decrease in support for all other orientations.

The data therefore suggests that all racial groupings have displayed a movement in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001. Indian and White respondents do, however, display stronger tendencies towards individualisation than their Black and Coloured counterparts.

### 3.6.2.4) Power distribution and education, 1995-2001

According to the individualisation thesis, respondents in the higher educational levels should display a stronger tendency towards individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower educational groupings.

*Table35: Power distribution and education, 1995-2001*

	None		Primary		Matric		Post-Matric		University	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Capitalist</b>	28.1	37.9	33.2	41.4	45.3	47.7	49.4	41.4	50.2	70.2
<b>Participatory</b>	34.4	29.9	43.9	42.8	41.5	37.7	42.4	52.0	34.9	23.4
<b>Socialist</b>	14.7	14.2	8.3	7.5	4.2	9.6	1.2	1.6	2.8	0.5
<b>Collectivist</b>	10.5	7.6	10.0	6.0	7.1	3.1	4.1	4.6	9.5	5.5
<b>Don't know</b>	12.2	10.5	4.6	2.3	1.8	1.9	3.0	0.4	2.6	0.4
<b>N</b>	681	451	1214	1240	628	814	209	354	167	141

In 1995, the majority of respondents in all educational levels displayed a strong tendency towards individualised work values. The majority of respondents with no education (34,4%), only a primary education (43,9%) supported the participatory model. The majority of respondents with a matric (45,3%), a university degree (50,2%) and other post-matric qualification (49,4%) supported the capitalistic model of power distribution, thereby displaying a

stronger tendency in favour of individualised work values than the lower educational categories. Interesting to note is the fact that support for the capitalistic orientation increases as educational level increases. Support for the collectivist and socialistic orientations was also relatively higher amongst the lower educated respondents than it was amongst the more highly educated respondents.

In 2001, the majority of respondents with a matric (47,7%) and a university degree (70,2%) regarded the capitalist model as the most appropriate form of power distribution. Similarly, the majority of respondents with no education (37,9%) supported the capitalist model. Differing from this pattern are those respondents with only a primary education and those with a post-matric qualification. The majority of respondents in these two educational categories regarded the participatory model as the most appropriate.

Between 1995 and 2001, all the educational groupings, except those with a post-matric qualification showed a moderate to strong increase in support of the capitalist model. Especially strong was the increase in support amongst university graduates (19,8%) those respondents with only a primary school education (8,2%) and those respondents with no education (9,8%). The above-mentioned educational groupings also displayed a decrease in support for the participatory models, reflecting a definite movement towards individualistic work values. Respondents with a post-matric qualification other than a university degree deviate from this pattern. This educational category displays an 8% decrease in support for the capitalist model and a 9,6% increase in support for the participatory model.

### **3.6.2.5) Power distribution and occupation, 1995-2001**

According to the individualisation thesis, respondents in the higher occupational groupings should display a stronger tendency towards individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational groupings.

In 1995, the majority of respondents in the supervisory positions (49,9%) supported the capitalist model, while 40% supported the participatory model. Similarly, the majority of respondents in the professional and office worker categories (50,1% and 52,1% respectively) supported the capitalistic model. Forty percent of professional respondents and 32,9% of office workers supported the participatory model. The majority of respondents in the manual occupations (40,8%) supported the participatory category, while 30,1% supported the capitalist orientation.

Support for the collectivist and socialist orientations was substantially higher among the lower occupational categories, thereby suggesting that respondents in the lower occupational groupings display stronger tendencies towards traditional work values.

*Table 36: Power distribution and Occupation, 1995-2001*

	<b>Managerial</b>		<b>Professional</b>		<b>Office worker</b>		<b>Manual</b>	
	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>Capitalist</b>	49.9	60.7	50.1	70.8	52.1	41.3	30.1	40.7
<b>Participatory</b>	40.0	33.7	39.5	20.9	32.9	50.2	40.8	40.2
<b>Socialist</b>	2.0	1.1	3.5	2.4	4.8	3.1	10.8	8.9
<b>Collectivist</b>	7.1	3.7	4.9	5.5	9.3	4.3	10.3	6.5
<b>Don't know</b>	1.0	0.8	2.0	0.4	1.0	1.1	8.1	3.7
<b>N</b>	<b>336</b>	<b>377</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>1262</b>	<b>1254</b>

In 2001, the majority of respondents in the supervisory (60,7%) and professional positions (70,8%) supported the capitalist model, while the majority of respondents in the office worker occupations (50,2%) supported the participatory model of power distribution. The majority of respondents in the manual worker occupations are fairly equally divided amongst the capitalist and participatory models.

Between 1995 and 2001, respondents in the managerial/supervisory, professional and manual occupations display a moderate to strong increase in support for the capitalist model (10,8%, 20,7% and 10,6% respectively). The above-mentioned occupational categories also display a relatively large decrease in support for the participatory model, thereby reflecting a definite value shift in the direction of individualistic work values. Respondents in the office worker occupations displayed a decrease (10,8%) in support for the capitalist model and a 17,3% increase in support for the participatory model.

According to the data, respondents in the supervisory, professional and manual worker occupations reflect a definite shift in the direction on individualised work values between 1995 and 2001.

### **3.6.2.6) Summary of results**

South Africans display a shift towards individualised work values relating to the distribution of power between 1990 and 2001. In both 1990 and 1995, the majority of respondents regarded the participatory model as the most appropriate model of power distribution. In 2001, however, the majority of respondents regarded the capitalistic model as the most appropriate orientation.

Male respondents tended more strongly towards individualised work values than their female counterparts in all three surveys. In 1990 and 1995, the majority of male respondents supported the participatory model of power distribution. In 2001, however, male support for the capitalistic model increased moderately, reflecting a trend towards individualised work values. Female support for the capitalistic model declined between 1990 and 2001, although support for the participatory model increased.

All racial groupings reflected a shift towards more individualised work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation. Indian and White respondents, however, displayed stronger tendencies towards individualisation than their Black and Coloured counterparts.

Between 1995 and 2001, all educational groupings became more individualised in their orientations towards the distribution of power in the organisation. Respondents with a university education, however, reflected stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their counterparts lower down the educational ladder.

All occupational categories displayed a shift towards individualised work values between 1995 and 2001. Respondents occupying managerial and supervisory positions displayed stronger support for individualised work values than those respondents situated in the office worker and manual occupations.

### **3.6.3) Work values relating to work preferences and goals, 1995-2001**

Work preferences and goals can be described as the goals, rewards and outcomes that individuals seek through their work. These end-states or goals are then used by individuals as the standards by which certain work conditions, outcomes and activities are evaluated and ultimately enable individuals to make choices amongst a variety of different work alternatives (Ross et al, 1999: 6). These work goals or preferences can be classified according to intrinsic, extrinsic and social

work goals. According to Zanders (1993) the individualisation thesis postulates a shift away from extrinsic work goals such as income and job security, towards intrinsic work goals such as personal development and growth.

The 1995 and 2001 components<sup>13</sup> World Values Surveys measure work goals in terms of four job preferences that reflect intrinsic, extrinsic and social work goals. In both questionnaires, respondents were asked to identify an aspect that was most important to them if looking for a job. Use was made of the following question:

*Now I would like to ask you something about the things that would seem to you, personally, most important if you were looking for a job. Here are some of the things that many people take into account in relation to their work. Regardless of whether you are actually looking for a job, which one would you, personally, place first if you were looking for a job:*

1. *A good income so that you don't have any worries about money*
2. *A safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment*
3. *Working with people you like*
4. *Doing an important job which gives you a feeling of accomplishment*
5. *Don't know*

As societies become wealthier, focus shifts away from extrinsic work goals, which are traditional values associated with the industrial society, towards intrinsic values relating to personal development and expression. The aspects relating to income and job security reflect extrinsic work goals, whereas the question relating to co-workers measures social work goals. Intrinsic work goals are measured through the question relating to feelings of accomplishment.

According to the individualisation thesis, one would expect a slight shift away from extrinsic work goals towards more intrinsic work goals in South Africa. Decreasing emphasis should therefore be placed on work goals associated with income and security, and increasing emphasis should be placed on work situations that enable feelings of accomplishment, personal achievement and growth.

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<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the 1990 component of the World Values Survey does not include a dimension relating to work preferences and goals.

Little agreement with regard to the classification of social work values according to the individualisation thesis exists in the literature. The individualisation thesis assumes the liberation of the individual from the group (Beck, 1992) and would therefore imply that less emphasis be placed on the importance of likeable co-workers in the workplace. The new world of work, however, does demand more of an emphasis on teamwork, which may increase the need for likeable co-workers in the future (Grantham, 2000). The social goals associated with work will therefore be classified as both modern and traditional work values. Further analysis and deconstruction of the concept will have to be done in order to categorise this variable more accurately.

### **3.6.3.1) Work preferences, 1995-2001**

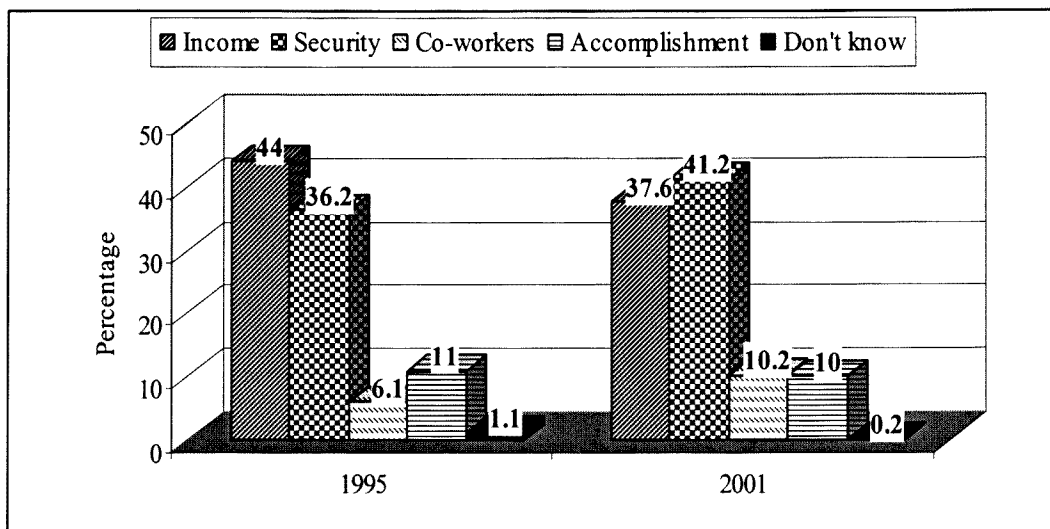
As South Africa continues along the path of development, and the survival needs of an increasing number of South Africans are met, we should witness a decrease in the importance placed on income and job security (extrinsic work goals) and an increase in the importance placed on accomplishment and personal development.

According to the individualisation thesis and the facts presented in the previous chapter, South Africans should display a shift in the direction of intrinsic work values between 1995 and 2001.

According to the data, the majority of South African respondents show a strong tendency in favour of extrinsic work values in both 1995 and 2001. In 1995, the majority of respondents (44,8%) regarded a good income as the most important job aspect to consider when looking for a job. Thirty-six percent of respondents regarded job security as the most important, followed by accomplishment (11,8%) and likeable co-workers (6,1%).

In 2001, support for extrinsic work goals was still significantly higher than support for intrinsic work goals. The majority of respondents (41,2%) regarded job security as the most important job aspect. A good income was regarded by 37,6% of respondents as the most important aspect, while only 10,8% regarded accomplishment as the most important aspect. Only 10,2% of respondents regarded likeable co-workers as the most important job attribute.



*Chart 2: Job Preferences, 1995-2001:**(1995 N=2899; 2001 N=3000)*

Between 1995 and 2001, a slight shift in favour of job security occurred. Support for job security increased by 5%, while support in favour of a good income decreased by 7,2%. Support for accomplishment values decreased by 1%, while support for likeable co-workers increased by 4,1%.

The above-mentioned statistics point to the fact that the South African population still regards extrinsic work goals as the most important job aspects. Contrary to predictions, support for accomplishment values has decreased, reflecting a decrease in the importance of intrinsic work goals in favour of job security. Social work goals have also displayed an increase in importance over the period 1995 to 2001.

### **6.3.2) Job Preferences and gender, 1995-2001**

Do male and female respondents differ with regard to the value they attach to the various work goals and preferences considered when looking for a job? According to the individualisation thesis, one would assume that women would place more of an emphasis on extrinsic work goals than their male counterparts, due to the differing educational and occupational opportunities afforded to South African women during the last decade.

Data for both 1995 and 2001, however, shows little difference in the order of value priorities expressed by the gender groupings in South Africa. The majority of both male and female



respondents regard extrinsic work goals as the most important job aspects, reflecting a strong tendency in favour of traditional work values by both genders.

In 1995, little difference existed between the genders with regard to the endorsement of extrinsic work goals. The majority of female respondents (44,5%) regarded a good income as the most important job aspect, followed by security (35%), accomplishment (10,6%) and likeable co-workers (8,3%). Similarly, the majority of male respondents (45,2%) regarded a good income as the most important, followed by a safe job (37,4%), accomplishment (13,1%) and likeable co-workers (3,8%). The only significant difference between the genders exists on the social dimension. Of those respondents that stated that working with people they like as the most important job attribute, 70,4% were women.

*Table 37: Work preferences and gender, 1995-2001*

	Male		Female	
	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Income</b>	45.2	39.6	44.5	35.5
<b>Security</b>	37.4	43.1	35	39.1
<b>Co-workers</b>	3.8	6.4	8.3	14.3
<b>Accomplishment</b>	13.1	10.7	10.6	10.8
<b>Don't know</b>	0.5	0.2	1.6	0.3
<b>N</b>	1435	1500	1464	1500

In 2001, the majority of female respondents (39,1%) regarded a safe job with no risk of closing down or unemployment as the most important job aspect, followed by a good income (35,5%), working with people you like (14,3%) and accomplishment (10,8%). Similarly, the majority of male respondents also regarded a safe job as the most important job aspect (43,1%), followed by income (39,6%), likeable co-workers (10,7%) and accomplishment (6,4%). Again the most notable difference between the genders exists on the social dimension, where substantially more women than men regarded it as the most important job aspect.

Between 1995 and 2001, both male and female respondents display a decrease in support for a good income in favour of an increase in support for job security and likeable co-workers. Support for accomplishment decreased by 2,4% for male respondents, but increased slightly in the case of female respondents.

The data therefore reflects no drastic differences between male and female value change between 1995 and 2001. Both male and female respondents do however, display a shift in favour of job security and likeable co-workers.

### **3.6.3.3) Job preferences and race, 1995-2001**

One would expect the various racial groupings in South Africa to differ with regards to the job attributes deemed most important when looking for a job. It would be expected that Black, Coloured and Indian respondents place greater emphasis on extrinsic work goals such as income and security than their White counterparts, since they have largely borne the brunt of socio-economic shortages over the last century.

The data indicates however, that the majority of respondents within all racial groupings regard extrinsic work goals as the most important job attributes to consider when looking for a job; thereby reflecting a strong tendency in favour of traditional work values amongst all four racial groupings.

In 1995, the majority of White (33,5%), Black (47,6%) and Coloured (44,4%) respondents regarded income as the most important job attribute. Differing from this pattern were the majority of Indian respondents (42,6%) who regarded job security as the most important job aspect. Notable is the high percentage of Black and Coloured respondents that regarded income as the most important job aspect. Thirty one percent of White respondents, 37,2% of Black respondents and 35,6% of Coloured respondents regarded job security as the most important job aspect, rendering it the second most frequently endorsed aspect for these racial groupings. Thirty five percent of Indians regarded income as the most important job aspect, rendering it the second most important value priority amongst the Indian population. Accomplishment was ranked the third most important attribute amongst all racial groupings, although endorsement within the White (27,8%) and Indian (18,%) groupings was especially high compared with those of the Coloured (13,3%) and Black (7,9%) population groupings.

*Table 38: Work preferences and race, 1995-2001*

	White		Indian		Coloured		Black	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Income</b>	33.5	32.5	34.9	33.9	44.8	34.2	47.6	39.6
<b>Security</b>	30.8	37.5	42.6	50.9	36.2	45.4	37.2	40.8
<b>Co-workers</b>	6.8	8.7	1.8	5.0	6.4	6.4	6.1	11.2
<b>Accomplishment</b>	27.8	20.5	18.7	9.8	13.3	13.8	7.9	8.6
<b>Don't know</b>	1.0	0.8	2.0	0.4	0.3	0.2	1.1	0.1
<b>N</b>	725	899	196	299	386	499	1592	1303

In 2001, the majority of respondents in all racial groupings regarded job security as the most important job aspect, followed by a good income. Accomplishment was the third most frequently endorsed aspect by the White (20,5%), Indian (9,8%) and Coloured (13,8%) racial groupings. The Black racial grouping, however, endorsed likeable co-workers (7,9%) more frequently than accomplishment. Notable is the high percentage of White respondents (20,5%) that endorsed accomplishment as the most important job aspect compared with the other racial groupings, thereby reflecting a stronger tendency in favour of expressive work goals compared with other racial groupings.

Between 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings decreased their endorsement of income as the most important job aspect, but increased in their support of job security. Similarly, White, Black and Indian racial groupings displayed an increase in support for likeable co-workers between 1995 and 2001. White and Indian respondents displayed a decrease in support for accomplishment, while the Black and Coloured respondent's support for the aspect increased slightly.

The above-mentioned statistics display slight differences in the nature and direction of value change experienced by the various racial groupings. White respondent's support for accomplishment remains high compared with the other racial groupings, displaying a higher propensity among White respondents in favour of intrinsic work goals. All racial groupings reflect an increase in support for job security and a decrease in support for income. White and Indian respondents display a moderate shift away from accomplishment values, suggesting a movement in the direction of traditional work values. Black and Coloured respondents reflect a slight increase in support for accomplishment, resulting in a slight convergence of values relating to this job aspect.

#### **3.6.3.4) Job preferences and education, 1995-2001**

The individualisation thesis implies that as societies become more affluent and are exposed to wider educational opportunities, values will gradually become individualised. One could therefore assume that educational level would impact on the nature of work preferences and goals. As educational level increases, so too should the endorsement of expressive work goals. Does this hold true for the South African situation, and to what extent are work value differences in South Africa perpetuated by educational level?

The data for 1995 supports the notion that respondents in the higher educational levels display a greater tendency towards expressive work values than those respondents in the lower educational categories. In 1995, the majority of respondents with no education (54,6%) and only a primary education (43,7%) regarded a good income as the most important job aspect to consider when looking for a job. Thirty percent of respondents with no education and 39,6% of respondents with only a primary education regarded job security as the most important job aspect, ranking second in the scale of value priorities for this educational level. Relatively little support was expressed for accomplishment and likeable co-workers, reflecting a strong tendency in favour of extrinsic work goals amongst these educational groupings.

The majority of respondents with a secondary education (40,7%) and a post-matric qualification other than a university degree (35,1%) regarded job security as the most important job attribute, followed by a good income and accomplishment.

The majority of respondents with a university degree (34%) regarded accomplishment as the most important job aspect, followed by a good income (30,6%) and job security (27,7%). Only 7,1% of these respondents regarded likeable co-workers as the most important job aspect.

The 1995 data therefore supports the theory that as educational level increases, support for accomplishment increases, while support for good income decreases.

*Table 39: Work preferences and education, 1995-2001:*

	None		Primary		Matric		Post-matric		University	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Income</b>	54.6	44.9	43.7	44	36.8	34.5	30.5	11.7	30.6	60.8
<b>Security</b>	30.1	40.8	39.6	43.8	40.7	48.9	35.1	23.3	27.7	12.6
<b>Co-workers</b>	5.8	7.3	6.5	4.5	5.5	3.5	6.3	45.7	7.1	11.3
<b>Accomplishment</b>	7.4	6.1	9.6	7.7	16.4	13.2	27.1	18.5	34	15.1
<b>Don't know</b>	2.1	0.9	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.2
<b>N</b>	681	451	1214	1240	628	814	209	354	167	141

In 2001, the majority of respondents with no education (44,9%) and only a primary education (44%) still regarded a good income as the most important job attribute, followed by job security (40,8% and 43,8% respectively). Again only a small percentage of respondents in these educational categories regarded accomplishment and likeable co-workers as the most important job aspect.

The majority of respondents with a secondary education (48,9%) again regarded job security as the most important job aspect, followed by a good income (34,5%), accomplishment (13,2%) and likeable co-workers (3,5%).

Differing drastically from value priorities expressed in 1995, are those respondents in possession of a university degree<sup>14</sup>. The majority of these respondents (60,8%) now regard a good income as the most important job aspect, followed by accomplishment (15,1%), security (12,6%) and likeable co-workers (11,3%). Another drastic shift occurred amongst respondents with a post-matric qualification other than a university degree. In 2001, the majority of these respondents (45,7%) regarded likeable co-workers as the most important job aspect, followed by security (23,3%), accomplishment (18,5%) and income (11,7%).

Between 1995 and 2001, strong changes in the position of the value priorities occurred only within those groups that were in possession of a post-matric qualification. Both these educational groupings display a strong decrease in support for intrinsic work goals in favour of an increase in support for job security and income.

<sup>14</sup> We are aware that the changes reflected in the data between 1995 and 2001 appear unrealistically large. These percentages have, however, been examined a number of times and remain consistent.

### 3.6.3.5) Job preferences by occupation, 1995-2001

Occupational category should also have an impact on the importance individuals attach to work preferences and goals. Individuals in the higher occupational levels should display a greater propensity in favour of intrinsic work goals, while individuals in the lower occupational categories should display greater support for extrinsic work goals.

*Table 40: Work preferences and occupation, 1995-2001*

	Managerial		Professional		Office worker		Manual worker	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Income</b>	33.1	34.7	28.0	37.6	38.0	40.7	49.8	38.7
<b>Security</b>	35.9	40	36.6	24.9	36.3	42.6	36.8	47.7
<b>Co-workers</b>	5.1	7.2	5.2	7.6	7.7	2.6	4.6	5.7
<b>Accomplishment</b>	25.7	18	29.4	28.1	17.4	14	7.4	7.7
<b>Don't know</b>	0.2	0.1	0.8	1.7	0.6	0.0	1.3	0.2
<b>N</b>	336	377	262	237	197	241	1262	1254

The 1995 data indicates that the majority of respondents in all occupational categories regard extrinsic work goals such as income and security as the most important job goals to consider when looking for a job. The majority of respondents in managerial or supervisory positions (35,9%) regarded job security as the most important job aspect, followed by income (33,1%) and accomplishment (25,7%). Similarly, the majority of professional respondents (36,6%) also regarded job security as the most important job aspect, followed by accomplishment (29,4%) and a good income (28%). The majority of both office (38%) and manual workers (49,8%) regarded income as the most important job aspect, followed by job security and accomplishment. Respondents in the managerial and professional categories display stronger support for accomplishment values than their counterparts in the lower occupational categories, thereby supporting the theory that support for intrinsic work values increases as one ascends the occupational ladder.

In 2001, the majority of respondents in all occupational categories still regard extrinsic work goals as the most important job aspects. The majority of respondents in the supervisory/managerial positions (40,1%) still regard job security as the most important job aspect, followed by income (34,7%), accomplishment (18%) and likeable co-workers (7,2%).



The majority of professional workers (37,6%) regard income as the most important job aspect, followed by accomplishment (28,1%) and job security (24,9%). The majority of office workers (42,6%) and manual workers (47,7%) regard job security as the most important job attribute, followed by income and accomplishment.

Between 1995 and 2001, those respondents in the managerial and supervisory positions show a moderate decline in support for accomplishment with a slight increase in support for income, security and likeable co-workers. Professional workers show only a slight decline in support for accomplishment job security, but a moderate increase in support for income. Office workers also display a decline in support for accomplishment and an increase in support for job security and income, while manual workers show a decline in support for income, but a moderate increase in support for job security. Support for accomplishment remained relatively unchanged.

Notable is the increasing importance placed on job security within all the occupational categories (except the professionals) and the decrease in support for accomplishment expressed by the managerial, professional and office workers. Also notable is the fact that managerial, professional and manual workers all endorsed like-able co-workers more frequently in 2001 that they did in 1995.

#### **3.6.3.6) Summary of results**

The majority of South African respondents displayed strong support for extrinsic work goals in both 1995 and 2001. Between 1995 and 2001, support for accomplishment values decreased slightly, reflecting a shift towards more traditional work values. Support for job security and likeable co-workers, however, increased slightly.

Between 1995 and 2001, male respondents displayed a shift away from individualised work values. Support for job security and likeable co-workers increased, while support for accomplishment values decreased. Similarly, female respondents displayed increasing support for likeable co-workers and job security between 1995 and 2001, while support for accomplishment values also increased slightly.

In both 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings displayed strong tendencies in favour of extrinsic work goals. In 1995, however, White and Indian respondents displayed stronger support for accomplishment values than their Black and Coloured counterparts, thereby reflecting stronger



tendencies towards individualisation. Between 1995 and 2001, however, all racial groupings increased support for job security and likeable co-workers. As a result, Indian and White respondents displayed a moderate decrease in support for accomplishment values, suggesting a definite shift in the direction of traditional work values amongst these racial groupings. Black and Coloured respondents, however, displayed a slight increase in support for accomplishment values.

In 1995, respondents with a post-matric qualification or university degree displayed stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational groupings. Between 1995 and 2001, however, all educational groupings displayed a decrease in support for accomplishment values, thereby reflecting a strong shift towards traditional work values.

In 1995 and 2001, respondents in the managerial and occupational occupations displayed stronger support for accomplishment values than their counterparts in the lower occupational categories. Between 1995 and 2001, however, respondents in the managerial, professional and office worker categories displayed a definite decrease in support for accomplishment values, reflecting a trend in the direction of traditional work values. Respondents in the managerial, office worker and manual occupational categories displayed an increase in support for job security, while respondents in the managerial, professional and manual occupations displayed an increase in support for likeable co-workers

#### **3.6.4) Work values relating to authority in the workplace, 1995-2001**

According to Zanders (1993) and Izzo and Withers (2001), individualisation implies less acceptance of traditional systems of authority, characteristic of the industrial economy, in the workplace. Employees in the new economy are becoming increasingly reluctant to accept the instructions of a superior without question, as new modes of participatory management become more prominent. Furthermore, the new knowledge economy requires employees to work and think independently, and therefore question the received notions of traditional systems of authority in the workplace. In Zander's study (1992) values relating to authority in the workplace were measured by the following question:

*Should people follow the instructions of a superior if they do not fully agree?*

In 1995 and 2001, the South African component of the World Values Survey phrased the question as follows:

*People have different ideas about following instructions at work. Some people say that one should follow one's superior's instructions even when one does not fully agree with them. Others say that one should follow one's superior's instructions only when one is convinced that they are right. With which of these two opinions do you agree?*

Respondents were given the response categories of:

1. *Should follow instructions*
2. *Must be convinced first*
3. *Depends (if volunteered)*
4. *Don't know (if volunteered)*

Unfortunately this question was not included in the 1990 survey.

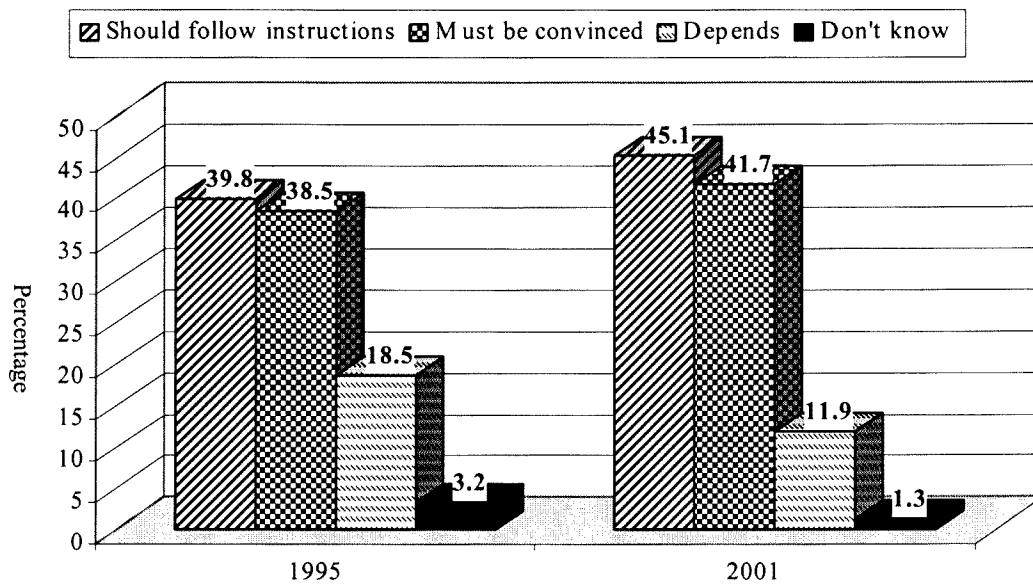
Support for response category one should indicate support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace, while support for response category two would reflect a tendency towards individualised work values where traditional systems of authority are no longer accepted as the norm.

#### **3.6.4.1) Work values relating to authority, 1995-2001**

As mentioned in Chapter two, industrial relations in South Africa have changed from the despotic forms of management experienced during the apartheid era, to highly consultative and inclusive relations. The opening up of the South African workplace to previously excluded and disadvantaged sectors of the population have resulted in a vast array of opinions and beliefs penetrating the South African business sphere. One should therefore witness a gradual shift in favour of individualised work values in South Africa, where industrial relations are characterised by management worker participation and consultation.

*Chart 3: Work values relating to authority, 1995-2001*

1995 N=2899; 2001 N=3000



In 1995, respondents were relatively equally divided between the two options. Approximately 39,8% of respondents asserted that one should always follow instructions, suggesting a slight tendency towards traditional work values. Thirty-eight percent of respondents asserted that one should first be convinced, 18% of respondents felt that it depended on the situation and only 3,2% asserted that they didn't know. In 2001, support for both categories increased, although the majority of respondents argued that one should follow the instructions of one's superior.

Between 1995 and 2001 the percentage of "depends" and "don't knows" decreased, leading to an increase in support for the first two response categories. The difference in percentages assigned to the two options indicates a slight shift in favour of following one's superior's instructions, indicating a slight shift in favour of traditional systems of authority in South Africa between 1995 and 2001.

#### **3.6.4.2) Authority by gender, 1995-2001**

Gender has traditionally been regarded as one of the social cleavages characterizing the nature of the South African society. One would therefore expect that slight differences in values relating to authority should exist between male and female South Africans. Traditionally (and to a lesser extent today), South African women have been relegated to the lower echelons of the South African occupational structure, occupying jobs regarded as an extension of the role traditionally filled by women in the broader society. Women should therefore traditionally display a more

submissive attitude towards authority in the workplace and as a result tend towards more traditional systems of authority.

The 1995 data displays a slight difference in the order of the value priorities expressed by male and female respondents. In 1995, the majority of female respondents (41%) asserted that one should always follow instructions, whereas 37,1% asserted that one should be convinced first. The majority of male respondents (40%) asserted that one should be convinced first. Similar proportions of both men and women asserted that it depends on the situation (18,9% and 18,2% respectively). Although only slight differences exist between the categories, one can conclude that male respondents are slightly more likely to endorse that individuals must first be convinced, thereby suggesting that male respondents display a greater propensity towards individualized systems of authority in the workplace.

*Table 41: Authority and gender, 1995-2001*

	Male		Female	
	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Follow instructions</b>	38.4	42.5	41	48
<b>Must be convinced</b>	40.0	45.2	37.1	37.9
<b>Depends</b>	18.9	11.4	18.2	12.4
<b>Don't know</b>	2.7	0.8	3.7	1.7
<b>N</b>	1435	1500	1464	1500

In 2001, the order of the value priorities expressed by male and female respondents remained relatively unchanged from those expressed in 1995. The majority of female respondents (48%) asserted that one should follow instructions without question. The majority of male respondents (45,2%) asserted that one should first be convinced. Again only a small difference exists between the genders in the “depends” category, which concludes that men are more likely than women to assert that one must first be convinced.

Between 1995 and 2001, responses in the “depends” category decreased moderately for both genders. The decrease in the “depends” category for women lead to a 7% increase in the “should follow instructions” category, indicating that women are becoming more traditional in their values relating to authority in the workplace. Men displayed an increase in support for both

response categories, although support for response category two increased by a greater percentage than did support for response category one.

### 3.6.4.3) Authority and race, 1995-2001

The nature of the industrial relations during the apartheid era was largely determined by racial considerations. Often referred to as “racial Fordism”, the dual system of labour relations that existed in South Africa during the apartheid era, was largely aimed at the creation of a divided workforce, whereby the rights and positions of White employees were protected.

According to the individualisation thesis, South Africa should be moving in the direction of individualised work values relating to authority. Participatory, inclusive and transparent forms of management are the norm in the majority of South African companies. To what extent have and do the racial divisions in the South African society impact on the values relating to authority, and to what extent does the legacy of a dual labour relations system impact on the nature and distribution of these values?

*Table 42: Authority and race, 1995-2001*

	White		Indian		Coloured		Black	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Follow instruct.</b>	45.5	49	37.7	65.2	37.4	44.4	38.9	43.6
<b>Convinced first</b>	36.6	41.2	49.2	28.2	38.8	50.3	38.5	41.2
<b>Depends</b>	16.4	9.2	11.8	6.1	22.1	5	18.8	13.6
<b>Don't know</b>	1.6	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.7	0.2	3.8	1.6
<b>N</b>	725	899	196	299	386	499	1592	1303

In 1995, the majority of White respondents (45,5%) asserted that one should follow the instructions of one's superior, reflecting a strong tendency in favour of traditional systems of authority compared with the other racial groupings. Thirty six percent asserted that one should be convinced first, and 16,4% endorsed the “depends” category.

An almost equal proportion of both Black and Coloured respondents endorsed the first two categories. Black respondents did, however, tend slightly towards response category 1- suggesting a slight tendency in favour of traditional systems of authority. Coloured respondents

tended slightly towards response category 2, thereby reflecting a propensity for individualized systems of authority in the workplace.

The majority of Indian respondents (49,2%) however, asserted that one must be convinced first, thereby displaying a strong tendency in favour of individualised work values compared with that of other racial groupings.

From these statistics it is clear that White respondents are more likely than the other racial groupings to tend toward traditional systems of authority in the workplace, while Indian respondents are more likely to tend towards more modern systems of authority.

In 2001, White, Black and Indian respondents showed similar patterns in the order of value priorities expressed. The majority of White (49%), Black (43,6%) and Indian (65,2%) respondents supported response category 1, reflecting strong tendencies towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace. The majority of Coloured respondents (50,3%), however, supported response category 2. The 2001 data therefore suggests that White and Indian respondents are slightly more inclined towards traditional systems of authority than their Black and Coloured counterparts.

Between 1995 and 2001 all racial categories displayed decreasing support for the “depends” category and increasing support in favour of following instructions at work. The Black respondents show a slightly larger increase in support for the first category (5%) than they do for the second response category (3,7%), indicating a slight shift in favour of traditional authority systems in the workplace. White respondents display a larger increase in support for response category two, indicating a slight shift in favour of individualisation. Coloured respondents, however, show an 11,5% increase in support of response category 2 and only a 7% increase for response category 1, indicating a values shift against traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Indian respondents show a strong 27% increase in support for response category 1, indicating a shift in favour of traditional work values relating to authority in the workplace.

#### **3.6.4.4) Authority and education 1995-2001**

The theory of individualisation suggests that as educational levels increase, so too should support for individualised, participatory systems of authority in the workplace. To what extent does this theory hold true in the South African context?



*Table 43: Authority and education, 1995-2001:*

	None		Primary		Matric		Post-matric		University	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Follow instruct.</b>	46.5	46.9	37.7	42.5	34.7	38.9	38.9	63.9	33.2	52.7
<b>Convinced first</b>	35.4	38	38.9	41.7	41.7	49.4	42	28.1	39.5	41.3
<b>Depends</b>	13.0	10	21.1	15.2	21	10.4	6.6	7.9	25.7	6.0
<b>Don't know</b>	5.1	5.1	2.3	0.6	2.5	1.3	2.5	0	1.6	0
<b>N</b>	681	451	1214	1240	628	814	209	354	167	141

The 1995 data suggests that the afore-mentioned theory definitely holds true for the South African context, since the majority of respondents in all educational categories except for those with no education supported response category 2.

The 2001 data shows a definite shift in the order of the value priorities expressed by all the educational groupings, except those with no education. Respondents in all educational categories, except those with a matric qualification, assert that one should follow the instructions of one's superior. Respondents with a degree and other post-matric qualification are particularly strong in their support for response category 1 (52,7% and 63,9% respectively), compared with other educational groupings-a strong departure from the value priorities expressed in 1995.

Between 1995 and 2001, all educational categories reflected a decrease in support of the "depends" category resulting in a redistribution of percentages within the first two response categories. Respondents with no education showed little change with regard to the first response category, but displayed a slight increase (2,6%) in support for the second response category. Similarly, respondents with a matric level of education showed an increase in support for both response categories, although the largest percentage change (7,7%) was in support of the second response category. Respondents with a university degree and a post-matric qualification showed a strong increase in support of the first response category (19,5% and 25% respectively); indicating a definite value shift in support of traditional systems of authority in the workplace within these educational groupings. Respondents with only a primary school education were relatively equally distributed between the first two response categories in 2001, displaying a slight shift in favour of response category one.



### 3.6.4.5) Authority by occupation, 1995-2001

According to the individualisation thesis, respondents in the higher occupational levels should display a stronger tendency towards individualised work values. The changing occupational structure of the South African economy forces individuals in the more knowledge intensive occupations to work independently and autonomously, rendering a reliance on individualised work values crucial in the new world of work. To what extent do the various occupational categories in South Africa conform to this notion?

In 1995, the majority of respondents in managerial (40,7%), professional (39%) and office worker (48,9%) occupations asserted that one should first be convinced before following a superior's instructions, thereby reflecting a strong tendency in favour of individualized work values. The majority of manual workers (42,2%) on the other hand, asserted that one should follow instructions first, displaying a strong tendency in favour of traditional work values.

*Table 44: Authority and occupation, 1995-2001*

	Managerial		Professional		Office worker		Manual	
	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001	1995	2001
<b>Follow instruct.</b>	38.4	39.1	35.8	54.4	37.6	35.9	42.2	41.1
<b>Convinced first</b>	40.7	53.9	39	33.6	48.9	44.7	38.6	42.3
<b>Depends</b>	20	6.7	24.3	11.1	12.4	19.3	15.4	15.1
<b>Don't know</b>	0.9	0.3	0.8	0.1	1.1	0.1	3.8	1.5
<b>N</b>	336	377	262	237	197	241	1262	1254

In 2001, the majority of respondents in the managerial/supervisory positions (53,9%) and office worker occupations (44,7%) again asserted that individuals should first be convinced. Similarly, the majority of respondents in the manual worker occupations asserted that one should first be convinced, reflecting a trend in favour of individualized work values amongst this grouping. Differing from this pattern, however, are the majority of respondents in the professional occupations category (54%) of whom asserted that one should first follow instructions; a radical departure from the majority of views expressed in 1995.

Between 1995 and 2001, respondents in the managerial and manual worker categories were the only respondents to display a shift in favour of modern work values. Respondents in the

managerial/supervisory occupations showed a decrease in support of the “depends” category, resulting in a 13,2% increase in support of the second response category, indicating a value shift against traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Support for the first response category remained relatively stable over the period. Respondents in the office worker category show a 4,2% decrease in support for response category two and a 1,7% decrease in support for response category 1. The decrease in the first two response categories has been redistributed as an increase in support for the “depends” category. Respondents in the manual worker category show a shift in the position of value priorities between 1995 and 2001 with a 3,7% increase in support for response category two and a 1,1% decrease in support for response category one. It should be noted, however, that the shift is very slight, as respondents are divided almost equally between the two response categories. Respondents in the professional occupations category show a strong shift in value priorities in favour of response category one. This shift can be explained by the decrease in support for the second and third response categories and is indicative of a definite shift in favour of traditional work values amongst professional workers.

#### **3.6.4.6) Summary of results**

South African respondents display a slight shift towards individualised work values relating to authority in the workplace. In both 1995 and 2001, male respondents display a greater tendency towards individualised values than their female counterparts, who reflect a moderate shift in the direction of traditional values regarding authority.

In both 1995 and 2001, White and Black respondents displayed stronger support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Between 1995 and 2001, however, White respondents reflect a shift towards individualised work values while Black respondents reflect a shift towards traditional work values. Indian respondents displayed a strong shift towards traditional values relating to authority, while Coloured respondents displayed a strong shift towards individualised work values.

The various educational groupings display differing trends with regard to authority between 1995 and 2001. In 1995, respondents with a university degree or other post-matric qualification displayed strong tendencies towards individualised systems of authority in the workplace. Between 1995 and 2001, however, these education groupings displayed a strong shift towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Respondents with only a matric qualification displayed strong support for individualised values in 1995, and increased this support towards

1995. Respondents with only a primary education, displayed a moderate shift towards traditional work values, whilst respondents with no education reflected a shift in the direction of individualised work values.

Respondents in the managerial, professional and office worker categories reflected strong tendencies in favour of individualised work values in 1995. Professional and office workers, however, displayed a shift towards traditional values between 1995 and 2001, while respondents in the managerial occupations increased support for individualised work values. The majority of respondents in the manual worker occupations supported traditional systems of authority in 1995, but reflected a shift towards individualised systems of authority in 2001.

### **3.7) Conclusion**

The data presented in this chapter yields a number of interesting results with regards to the nature and direction of work value change in South Africa between 1995 and 2001. Work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organisation have displayed a shift in accordance with the propositions set out in Chapter one, while work values relating to work preferences and authority have become increasingly traditional.

The following chapter will attempt to analyse the work value changes that have taken place in South Africa over the last decade in terms of the systemic level changes discussed in Chapter two, with the aim of inferring implications for workplace policy and practice in South Africa.

## CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

*Individualisation brings to the ever growing number of men and women an unprecedented freedom of experimenting-but it also brings an unprecedented task of coping with the consequences.*

*(Buamann, 1999 as cited in Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: xix)*

### 4.1) Introduction

In chapter one we embarked on a discussion concerning the implications of individualisation on the work values of South African citizens. Our discussion was informed by the theories proposed by Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997) and Inglehart and Baker (2000, 2001), which suggest that advanced industrial societies are displaying a distinct shift away from traditional secular-rational values characteristic of industrial capitalism, towards values that are more expressive of individual freedom and growth. According to the individualisation thesis, we should witness an increase in work values that stress personal growth, development and self-determination and a decrease in work values that emphasise material success, comfort and status.

In order for such subjective individualisation to take place, however, an objective individualisation at the systemic level should also be present. The findings discussed in Chapter two suggest that South Africa has undergone significant systemic level changes to warrant the possibility of significant changes at the individual level of values and norms.

The present chapter will attempt to describe, analyse and interpret the findings presented in Chapter three according to the framework of questions developed in Chapter one, and will subsequently adhere to the following guidelines:

- To what extent have work values in South Africa changed in the direction of individualisation between 1990 and 2001?
- What kind of work value patterns can be expected, and in what direction are these changes likely to occur?
- Are there differences in the rate, nature and direction of work value change between the various social categories defined by gender, race, education and occupation?
- What implications do these value patterns hold for the management of cultural diversity in the South African workplace?
- What implications do the value patterns presented hold for the development of workplace policy and practice in South Africa?

Furthermore, the following propositions developed in Chapter one will be tested according to the data presented in the previous chapter:

- The work values of South African citizens should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001.
- Both male and female respondents should display a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although male respondents should reflect stronger support for individualised values than their female counterparts.
- All racial groupings should reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although White respondents should reflect stronger support for individualised work values than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts.
- Respondents in the higher educational groupings should display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower educational groupings.
- Respondents in the higher occupational groupings should display stronger support for individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational groupings.

The following discussion shall attempt to analyse and interpret the empirical findings revealed by the study within the context of the systemic level changes explored in Chapter two, thereby providing an explanatory framework for the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa. The aim of the discussion is therefore to develop a deeper understanding of work value change in South Africa and the distribution thereof, so as to better inform and facilitate the development of appropriate workplace policy and practice in South Africa.

#### **4.2) Work Values in South Africa, 1990-2001**

In the preceding chapter we analysed the distribution of work value change in South Africa using the four work value dimensions explored by Zanders (1993) in his study of work value change in Europe and North America between 1981 and 1990. These dimensions include:

- Work values relating to work centrality i.e. the position of work relative to other life domains
- Work values relating to work preferences and goals
- Work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation
- Work values relating to authority in the workplace

The above-mentioned dimensions measure distinctly different aspects of work values and would therefore be influenced by very different systemic level conditions. It would therefore be naïve to assume that the above-mentioned dimensions would change in a manner consistent with one another or that they would reflect similar distributions across the various social categories.

The data presented in Chapter three reveals that the various value orientations have indeed displayed different tendencies with regards to change and distribution. Work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organization reflect a change in the direction of individualisation. Work values relating to work preferences and authority in the workplace reflect a shift away from individualisation towards work values characteristic of more traditional societies.

The following paragraphs will therefore deal with each value orientation separately, reflecting on the nature, direction and distribution of the change specific to each orientation. Use shall be made of the interpretative framework developed in Chapter two to analyse the data, and shall include reference to the theory surrounding the individualisation of work values and the socio-economic context of the South African employee.

#### **4.2.1) Work values relating to work centrality, 1990-2001**

The data concerning work centrality presented in Chapter three, indicates that South Africa has undergone a slight shift in the direction of individualisation. In 1990, 1995 and 2001 family was regarded as the most important life domain followed by work. The importance of work remained relatively unchanged during the period, whilst the importance of family in the lives of South Africans has increased slightly, indicating a tentative shift towards individualisation.

As mentioned in Chapter two, the individualisation thesis provides a number of reasons associated with the decreasing importance placed on work and the subsequent increase in the importance of family. As modern societies move away from industrial modes of production, work loses its position as the primary source of meaning, forcing individuals to re-define their identities through alternative sources of interaction (Beck, 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001; Izzo and Withers, 2001). The proliferation of alternative working arrangements brought about by the nature of the new economy, increasingly blurs the distinction between work and home life, forcing individuals to establish greater balance between work and non-work activities (Harding and Hikspoors, 1995: 441). Furthermore, the re-definition of gender roles, the



increasing participation of women in the labour market and the subsequent feminisation thereof, has placed the position of the family at the forefront of human resource strategies (Kraut and Korman, 1998: 5).

Contrary to the individualisation thesis, the data presented in Chapter three displays no significant difference in the importance placed on work between 1990 and 2001. Although South Africa is moving in the direction of a service, knowledge-orientated economy (as discussed in Chapter two), the importance of work in the lives of South Africans has remained relatively unchanged. This trend could be explained through the use of Inglehart's (1977: 3) scarcity hypothesis, which states that "individuals place the greatest subjective value on those things that are in relatively short supply." Employment is definitely in short supply in South Africa, forcing individuals to place greater subjective importance on work and employment.

Over the last decade, South Africa has shed over a million jobs. Public sector posts have fallen by 102 000 jobs between 1989 and 1999, while formal non-agricultural private sector jobs have fallen by 780 000 for the same period (Slabber and Mazwai, 2000: 18). According to Statistics South Africa, the unemployment rate<sup>1</sup> in South Africa has increased from 20 percent in 1994 to 26,4 percent in 2001 (Stats SA as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213). Unless drastic measures are implemented to curb the high unemployment rate in South Africa, it is unlikely that the importance of work will decrease in years to come.

The data presented in Chapter three does, however, yield interesting findings with regards to the importance placed on the position of family in the lives of South Africans. Between 1990 and 2001, South Africans display a slight increase in the importance placed on the position of family, as mean scores relating to the importance of family decreased from 1.11 in 1990 to 1.06 in 2001. This trend proves consistent with the individualisation thesis and could be largely attributable to the changing nature of the South African economy, the subsequent use of alternative working arrangements and the increasing participation of women in the South African labour force.

According to the Institute of Futures Research (2000: 6/16), South Africa is moving in the direction of a more service, knowledge-orientated economy. Between 1980 and 1999, agricultural output as percentage of GDP decreased from six percent to four percent, while service output as percentage of GDP increased from 46 percent to 64 percent for the same period. Similarly, the mining and agricultural share of total employment decreased from 28,2



percent in 1970 (Barker, 1999: 87) to 15,7 percent in 1999 (Stats SA, 1999), while the trade, finance and insurance share of total employment increased from 15 percent (Barker, 1999; 87) to 29,4 (StatSA, 1999) percent in the same period.

The extent to which such changes in the economy have facilitated the use of alternative working arrangements in South Africa remains debatable. In a study conducted by Brosnan et al (2000:750) on employer's recent, current and intended use of standard and non-standard forms of employment; nine out of ten employees in South Africa could still be classified as full-time employees. Only four percent of employees participating in the study could be classified as temporary, three percent as fixed term and two percent as contract employees. According to the Labour Force Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa in September 2001, 78 percent of employees could be classified as permanent; 3,4 percent as fixed period contract; 11 percent as temporary and six percent as casual. This high preference for permanent employment is largely as a result of strong legislative and trade union pressures that continue to favour permanent full time employment in a labour market characterised by high unemployment and insecurity.

The increased participation of women in the South African labour market, the subsequent feminisation of the workplace and the re-definition of gender roles in the South African society may provide a better explanation for the increasing importance placed on the position of family in the lives of South African employees.

The participation of women in the South African labour force had been increasing steadily since 1950. Between 1951 and 1990, the percentage of economically active women in the South African labour force grew from 20 percent to 30 percent. Between 1991 and 1996, this percentage swelled from 39,6 percent to 45,4 percent (Barker, 1999: 48); while the labour force participation rate of South African women stood at 44,2 percent in 1999 (Stats SA as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 342), increasing to 54 percent in 2001 (Stats SA as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 201).

This increase is simultaneously reflected across the majority of occupational categories. Between 1995 and 1999, the proportion of women constituting the occupational category of legislators, senior officials and managers increased from 21,2 percent to 25 percent, while the proportion of female professionals increased from 28,2 percent to 45,7 percent. Similarly, the proportion of female skilled agriculture and fishery workers increased from 13 percent to 26 percent, while female plant and machine operators and assemblers increased from 13 percent to

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<sup>1</sup> According to the strict definition of unemployment.

15 percent. Only elementary occupations display a decrease in the proportion of women represented (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351; Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345). In 1999, women occupied 28 percent of management posts in the private sector, compared with a relatively low 19 percent in 1990. Similarly, the number of women represented in Parliament and the Cabinet increased from 26 percent to 29,8 percent in 1999 (De Bruin, 2000: 37).

#### **4.2.1.1) Work Centrality and Gender, 1990-2001**

As more women enter the South African labour force, companies are being forced to implement programs and initiatives that reconcile work and family life, thereby instilling a greater appreciation of the family as institution among employees. According to Kimmel (2000: 127), such developments carry important implications for men in the workplace. In industrial societies, paid employment formed the basis of a man's position in society and provided the rationale behind the traditional patriarchal family. The increasing number of women in paid labour, the increase in dual income families and the precarious position in which male employees find themselves due to the large number of layoffs and associated job insecurity, forces men to re-define their position in both the workplace and the family. According to Kimmel (2000:127) "a new organization man has emerged; one that wants to be an involved father and one that seeks a work/life balance."

According to the data presented in Chapter three, a new "organization man" is definitely emerging in South Africa. Between 1990 and 2001, South African men have displayed a slight increase in the importance placed on the position of family. Mean scores for male respondents decreased from 1.13 in 1990 to 1.05 in 2001, reflecting a slight value shift in the direction of individualisation. Female support for the importance of family increased to a lesser extent than that of their male counterparts, suggesting a slight convergence of values concerning family importance between the genders. From this data it may be concluded that South Africans have embarked on a path towards the re-definition of sex roles, and that organisations will have to take the increasing importance of family into account when designing human resource policies for both men and women.

#### 4.2.1.2) Work Centrality and Race, 1990-2001

According to the data presented in Chapter three, the various racial groupings display little difference in the order of value priorities expressed. In 1990, 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings regarded the family as the most important life domain, followed by work. Differences do, however, exist with regard to the relative importance placed on each life domain by the various racial groupings. In 1990, for instance, the White population placed far less importance on work than the other racial groupings did. The Black racial grouping placed the most importance on the position of work, followed by the Indians and the Coloureds.

The difference in importance placed on the position of *work* between the various racial groupings could be explained through reference to the employment situation within each grouping. In 1990, the White racial grouping was clearly in a privileged position with regard to occupational and employment opportunities. Unemployment amongst the White population seldom exceeded two percent, while unemployment amongst the Black population stood at between 11 and 20 percent (Bhorat et al, 2000: 12). According to Census 1991 (CSS, 1991: 9), 21,7 percent of Whites were concentrated in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations, while only 5,5 percent of Coloureds, 10,4 percent of Indians and 3,6 percent of Blacks occupied such positions. Similarly, 12 percent of Whites occupied managerial, executive and administrative posts, while 4,2 percent of Indians, 0,8 percent of Coloureds and 0,2 percent of Blacks occupied such posts (SAIRR, 1991: 241). It is therefore evident that the superior occupational and employment opportunities afforded to the White population during the apartheid era, allowed them the luxury of placing less importance on the position of work relative to other life domains.

Between 1990 and 1995, however, the White population displayed a slight increase in the importance placed on the position of work (although they still placed substantially less importance on work compared with other racial groupings), while all other racial groupings displayed a decrease in the importance placed on the position of work. This trend may be explained through reference to the expectations regarding job opportunities following the inception of the new political dispensation in 1994. Although unemployment levels within all racial groupings decreased between 1994 and 1995 (Nattrass, 2000: 74), the promise of employment equity legislation in the form of affirmative action programs may have sparked hope in the hearts of millions of previously disadvantaged South Africans, resulting in a decrease in the importance placed on work relative to other life domains.

Between 1995 and 2001, the various racial groupings once again displayed differences in the nature and direction of the importance placed on the position of work. Both White and Indian South Africans displayed a decrease in the importance placed on the position of work, while their Black and Coloured counterparts placed increasing importance of the position of work relative to other life domains. In 2001, White South Africans still placed less importance on the position of work than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts. Black respondents, however, placed the most importance on the position of work relative to other life domains. Although unemployment levels increased among all racial groupings between 1995 and 2001, Black unemployment levels remain significantly higher than the unemployment levels within other population groups, forcing this population grouping to place a greater subjective value on the importance of work. In 2001, the unemployment rate<sup>2</sup> among the Black population group reached 31,1 percent. The Coloured, Indian and White population group had unemployment rates of 21,9 percent, 17,6 percent and 6,6 percent respectively (Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213).

An analysis of the importance of the position of *family* amongst the various racial groupings within South Africa reflects a slight tendency amongst all racial groupings (except the Coloureds, whose mean scores remain unchanged between 1990 and 2001) towards increasing importance of the family. As mentioned in preceding paragraphs, this trend may be due to the feminisation of the South African labour force during the last decade. All racial groupings experienced an increase in the proportion of economically active women between 1991 and 2001. Between 1991 and 2001, the proportion of women constituting the Black EAP increased from 39,5 percent to 47,7 percent; the proportion of Coloured women increased from 42,8 percent to 47 percent; the proportion of Indian women increased from 31,7 percent to 40,3 percent; and the proportion of White women increased from 39,1 percent to 43,1 percent (Barker, 1999: 48; Stats SA, 2001).

#### **4.2.1.3) Work centrality, education and occupation, 1995-2001**

When comparing the various educational groupings with respect to the importance placed on work and family between 1995 and 2001, it is evident that the respondents with a higher educational level place less importance on the centrality of work than those individuals with lower educational levels. Similarly, those respondents in the manual worker occupations placed more importance on the importance of work than their counterparts further up the occupational

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<sup>2</sup> According to the strict definition of unemployment.

ladder. Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of work increased for those respondents occupying manual positions and reflects the dismal job market faced by the majority of such respondents.

According to Makgetla (2001a:16) the greatest job losses in the South African labour market occurred within the mining, construction and transport industries. Between 1996 and 1999 the percentage share of total employment of the agricultural, mining, construction and manufacturing industries decreased from 42,5 percent to 35,8 percent (Barker, 1999: 87; Stats SA, 1999). Similarly, the number of jobs in elementary occupations decreased from 3 037 000 in 1995 to 1 901 000 in 1999 (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351; Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345) and according to the HSRC (1999:10) a further decline in employment is expected in the mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas and water supply sectors in the years to come.

Those respondents situated in the office worker occupations displayed a similar increase in the importance placed on work centrality, while respondents in the managerial/supervisory and professional occupations displayed a decrease in the importance placed on work. These statistics reflect the privileged position in which individuals in the upper echelons of the occupational structure find themselves. Between 1995 and 1999 the number of legislators, senior officials and managers grew by 98 000 jobs, while the number of professionals grew by 190 000 within the same period (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351, Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345). According to the HSRC (1999:10) a growth rate of 9,6 percent and 6,2 percent respectively is expected amongst professionals and managers during the next couple of years.

Some interesting differences arise when correlating *family* centrality with occupational and educational level. Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of family increased slightly for those respondents with a degree or other post-matric qualification, while it decreased in importance for those respondents with a primary education or matric. Similarly, the importance of family increased slightly for those respondents in the professional and managerial categories, while it remained unchanged for respondents within the office worker category and decreased for those respondents in the manual worker occupations.

It is likely that this trend can be explained through reference to the nature of work associated with the professional and managerial categories and the extent to which feminisation of the workplace has taken place within each occupational category. Although the elementary

occupations still employ the largest percentage of women when compared with other occupational categories (Stats SA, 1999), the number of women entering occupations at the top of the occupational ladder is growing at a faster rate than the number of women in the lower occupational categories. Between 1995 and 1999, the proportion of female legislators, senior officials and managers increased by approximately four percent, while the number of female professionals increased by 17,5 percent. The proportion of female clerks increased by 1,2 percent, while the percentage of female service, shop, market and sales workers increased by four percent. The proportion of female skilled agricultural and fishery workers decreased by 13 percent and the percentage of women concentrated in the elementary occupations decreased by 2,7 percent (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351, Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345).

From the above-mentioned statistics, it is clear that a large amount of feminisation has taken place within the upper occupational categories. Although statistics discussed earlier in the chapter suggest that the importance of family has increased more strongly amongst the male respondents than female respondents, the feminisation of the workplace undoubtedly has implications for workplace policy and practice that have clearly altered male perceptions regarding the importance of the family.

As mentioned earlier, the nature of work associated with the managerial/supervisory and professional occupations would undeniably facilitate the blurring of the distinction between work and family life. According to Harding and Hikpoors (1995:441) occupations situated closer to the top of the occupational structure are more susceptible to alternative forms of working arrangements associated with the knowledge economy, and as a result, enable the merge between the two life spheres. Occupations lower down the occupational ladder still largely depend on the “brick and mortar” constraints characteristic of the industrial era, and may therefore be less susceptible to a “family-friendly” policy and practice.

### **3.4) Summary and implications for workplace policy and practice**

According to the statistics presented in Chapter three, South Africa seems to be moving in the direction of individualised work values with regard to the importance placed on the position of family. The importance placed on work, however, has remained relatively unchanged during the last decade, a trend that could be largely attributable to the high and increasing rate of unemployment in the country.



When comparing the importance of work and family relative to other life domains across the various social categories defined by gender, race, educational and occupational level, some interesting differences arose. Male respondents appear to have undergone a value change in the direction of individualisation, while female values regarding this dimension have become only slightly individualised between 1990 and 2001. Black, White and Indian respondents display a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001, all reflecting a decrease in the importance placed on work and an increase in the importance placed on family. Coloured respondents, however, remained unchanged with regards to the position of family and increased the importance placed on work. Furthermore, respondents in the lower occupational and educational categories display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than did respondents situated towards the top of the educational and occupational structure.

It appears that the importance placed on the position of work could largely be influenced by the extent to which work is available to the various social categories. Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis becomes applicable in the South African employment context where social categories plagued by deteriorating job opportunities place increasing importance on the centrality of work.

The importance of family relative to other life domains is definitely increasing within specific social categories in South Africa. Occupational categories exposed to greater feminisation of the workplace and alternative forms of working arrangements seem to be the most susceptible to this trend. It is also evident that the importance of family as life domain to male South Africans should not be underestimated. Workplace policy and practice focusing on work/life balance should therefore not be exclusively female orientated, but should take cognisance of the fact that a new organization man is indeed emerging in the new South Africa.

In order for South African organisations to reconcile these trends with workplace policy and practice, a number of programs facilitating work/life balance will have to be initiated. According to a study conducted by the Commission on Gender Equality (1999:3) many South African companies are not predisposed to a family friendly environment. Although most companies do provide employees with maternity and paternity leave, pension and medical aid, only a small percentage provided in-house crèche facilities and counselling services for domestic problems. If the trends reflected in the current study persist, South African organizations will have to improve the extent to which work-life balance is catered for.



The European Community has already introduced a number of policy measures<sup>3</sup> to support the balance between work and family life (Gottlieb et al, 1998: 12; Van Doorne Huiskes et al, 1998: 5). As early as 1986, an initiative named “Childcare and other measures aimed at reconciling working and family responsibilities for women and men” was instituted, followed by a second initiative in 1993 labelled “Co-ordination group on positive action and aims at positive action for women”. More recently, a program entitled “Families and work network” was initiated to design and promote organizational methods with which to achieve a balance between professional and family life (Papalexandris and Kramar, 1997: 587). A proper legal framework instituted at governmental level would, however, be a prerequisite to the implementation of such measures in South Africa in order to regulate the possible problems<sup>4</sup> that may arise from such policies and programs.

#### **4.2.2) Work values relating to the distribution of power in the organization**

The data presented in Chapter three, regarding the distribution of power in the organization reflects a definite shift towards individualised work values in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. In both 1990 and 1995, the participatory model of power distribution was favoured, while data collected in 2001 displays a definite shift in favour of the capitalist form of power distribution. Between 1990 and 2001, however, a slight shift in favour of the more traditional modes of power distribution (i.e. socialist and collectivist) occurred, but declined again towards 2001.

According to the individualisation thesis, as modern societies become increasingly integrated into the global capitalist market, the principles underlying traditional systems of labour relations will be systematically re-defined. According to Beck (1992: 128) the process of modernisation has initiated a process where the relation between the individual and society becomes systematically re-defined. As societies move towards more advanced conditions of modernisation, the changing nature of labour relations provides a prime example of the impact of such a re-definition on individual work values. As mentioned in Chapter one, the improvements in the standard of living of a large percentage of the South African population have provided them with the resources necessary to liberate themselves from traditional class identities and

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<sup>3</sup> These measures include flexible working arrangements such as flexible working times (flexitime, annualization of hours, four day work week); flexibility in the number of hours worked (part time, job-sharing, compressed working time); flexibility w.r.t. the place of work (teleworking) and family support measures (Papalexandris et al, 1997: 586). For a more detailed discussion of flexible working arrangements consult Gottlieb et al (1998:12) and Van Doorne-Huiskes et al (1998:5)

<sup>4</sup> A lack of social security benefits, lower pay, longer working hours and decreasing job security.

traditional bonds associated with the institutions, roles and structures associated with the industrial era (Beck, 1992: 87).

The nature of work in the new knowledge economy disassociates the individual from traditional forms of security and control, prompting Gorz (1999:52) to argue that:

*those performing work are no longer treated as members of a group or profession defined by their public status, but as particular providers of particular services in particular conditions. They no longer provide abstract labour, labour in general, work dissociable from their person and making them out as social individuals in general, useful in a general way. Their status is no longer governed by the labour law which meant that the worker belonged first to society and only secondarily to the company.*

Traditional systems of labour relations defined by socialism and collectivism are characteristic of the class identities associated with the industrial era and are increasingly becoming less applicable in modern societies. According to Gorz (1999:52) “wage labour is losing the emancipatory function of freeing workers from the relations of subjection which prevailed in traditional society-where social relations were fundamentally inegalitarian and personalized.”

To what extent are the factors that would facilitate the decline of socialist and collectivist modes of power distribution at play in South Africa, and to what extent has the changing nature of social relations in South Africa contributed to this trend?

According to the data presented in Chapter three, the South African public displayed relatively strong support for both the capitalist and participatory forms of power distribution throughout the decade. In 1990, the majority of respondents (45%) supported the participatory model of power distribution, while 40,1 percent supported the capitalist model. In 1995, the majority of respondents (40,2%) again supported the participatory model, while 35,1 percent supported the capitalist model. Between 1990 and 1995, we do, however, witness a slight increase in support for the socialist and collectivist modes of power distribution. Trends reflected during this period may have resulted from the poor economic performance of the economy during the early 1990's, but could perhaps be better explained with reference to the political and social climate at that time.

During the apartheid era, the dual system of labour relations in South Africa was characterised by the “racially exclusive” capitalism of the White upper classes and the “social democracy” of the Black under classes (Human, 1991: 96). During apartheid, Black employees used the rights that had been afforded them in the industrial arena as a political platform and instrument through which to attack the apartheid government, resulting in strong socialist tendencies that were captured in the relationship between the ANC and COSATU. According to Bendix (1996: 74):

*South Africa had, not by consent or consensus but by political expediency, an unusual mixture of raw capitalism and the free market enterprise on the one hand, and of socialism, targeted at white Afrikaners, as well as a large number of institutionalised controls on the other*

The rise in socialist and collectivist modes of power distribution between 1990 and 1995 can therefore be explained by reference to the political system, where the liberation struggle, spearheaded by the ANC and COSATU and propelled by ideologies of social democracy, brought an end to White minority rule in South Africa.

By 2001, however, the majority of respondents supported the capitalistic model of power distribution (43,8%), reflecting a shift in the direction of individualised work values.

#### **4.2.2.1) Power distribution and race, 1990-2001**

The effect that the above-mentioned political changes had on work values relating to the distribution of power in the organization can further be explained when comparing these values across the various racial groupings in South Africa. In 1990, Black respondents displayed the strongest support for the socialist and collectivist modes of power distribution in comparison to the other groupings. Support for the capitalist model of power distribution was relatively low amongst the Black respondents in comparison to the other racial groupings, while White respondents displayed the strongest support for the capitalist model.

Between 1990 and 1995, Black and Coloured respondents displayed a decline in support for both the capitalistic and participatory forms of power distribution, and an increase in support for socialist and collectivist models. Both White and Indian respondents displayed an increase in support for the capitalistic model and a decrease in support for traditional forms of power distribution.

Between 1995 and 2001, however, the data presented in Chapter three reflects an increase in support for the capitalist model of power distribution and a slight decrease in support for the socialist and collectivist models amongst these racial groupings. According to Gevisser (1997: 24) the trade unionism characterised by the ideologies of social democracy, which was used by left-wing South Africans as a political tool in the struggle against apartheid, is fast transforming into a new form of unionism characterised by labour capitalism. The growth of Black economic empowerment, and the rapid emergence of a neo-liberal Black bourgeoisie have transformed the face of industrial unionism in South Africa and altered the nature and distribution of work values relating to the distribution of power in organisations.

The increase in the percentage of Black owned companies over the last decade is illustrative of this fact. In 1997, eight percent of equities listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were owned by Black companies, compared with only 0,3 percent in 1995 (Gevisser, 1997:24). In 1999, new investments in established Black-controlled companies amounted to approximately R3.5 bn. Currently, 27 companies qualify as Black Empowerment companies, the two biggest being Johnnic and Metropolitan Life (Enterprise, 2001: 78).

A number of South African trade unions have also bought into the market and almost every COSATU affiliated union, including the Communist Party, has set up investment companies headed by some of the most militant and pivotal players of the liberation movement (*The Economist*, 1994: 58), prompting Gevisser (1997:26) to argue that these trends have been

*without a doubt, one of the quietest and most profound revolutions of post-apartheid South Africa: not just that former militants like Ramaphosa and Golding have become captains of industry, but that the ideology of this transformation is so a radical departure from traditional labour values. It reflects, many are beginning to say, a profound crisis in the South African labour movement.*

The rise of a strong Black middle class may also have facilitated this rapid shift towards capitalistic work values. According to Laurence (2002: 23) Blacks now constitute the largest racial component of South Africa's middle class and that this expansion has been mainly at the expense of the White and Indian populations. According to the Centre for International and Comparative politics at the University of Stellenbosch (as cited in Laurence, 2002: 23) the Black component of South Africa's middle class has grown from 29 percent to 49 percent between 1994 and 2002. The White component contracted from 53 percent to 34 percent, the Indian

component contracted from 11 percent to five percent and the Coloured component increased from seven percent to 11 percent during this period.

The data comparing work values associated with the distribution of power across the various racial classifications reflects this change in the nature of labour relations in South Africa. Between 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings display a decline in support for the socialist and collectivist modes and an increase in support for the capitalist model. The White and Indian population groups still, however, display the strongest support for the capitalistic orientation—largely due to the still privileged position that they occupy in the South African economy and their strong capitalist history.

#### **4.2.2.2) Power distribution and gender, 1990-2001**

The data presented in Chapter three reflects slight differences in the order and nature of value priorities expressed by male and female respondents. Between 1990 and 2001, both male and female respondents reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values. In 1990, the majority of both male (45,3%) and female (44,5%) supported the participatory model. In 2001, however, the majority of male respondents (49,5%) supported the capitalist model, while the majority of female respondents (47,5%) still supported the participatory model. Male respondents therefore reflect a greater propensity towards individualised work values than their female counterparts, due to the privileged employment and occupational opportunities afforded South African men.

#### **4.2.2.3) Power distribution, education and occupation, 1995-2001**

As mentioned earlier, the nature of the occupations situated at the upper echelons of the occupational structure and the associated material and psychological rewards that accompany them, have the power to emancipate individuals from the traditional bonds associated with the industrial era. When comparing work values associated with power distribution across the various educational and occupational groupings, it becomes evident that respondents in the higher occupational and educational levels indeed display stronger support for the capitalist and participatory forms of power distribution than the respondents in the lower groupings. Respondents in the lower occupational and educational groupings display stronger support for the more traditional models than those higher up the occupational and educational levels.

Between 1995 and 2001, individuals in both the supervisory and professional occupations display an increase in support for the capitalist model and a large decrease in support for the participatory model-reflecting a strong shift in favour of individualisation amongst these occupational groupings. This could largely be as a result of the increasing levels of affluence within these groups and the changing nature of work that these groups have been exposed to.

#### **4.2.2.4.) Summary and implications for workplace policy and practice**

The data presented in Chapter three displays a shift towards individualised work values relating to power distribution within the organization. Despite the slight shift towards more traditional forms of power distribution between 1990 and 1995, employees in South Africa are becoming increasingly willing to allow business entities to run the organization and are becoming disillusioned by state and employee organization intervention. As a result, trade union membership in South Africa has decreased over the last decade. Although the South African economy has lost over a million jobs during the last decade, the labour movement lost 500 000 fee paying, card carrying members between during 1998 and 1999, reducing its membership to 3,3 million members (Levy, 2001: 14).

Although White and Indian South African display the strongest tendencies towards individualisation, their Black and Coloured counterparts are showing an increase in support for these dimensions. As the South African economy becomes more knowledge and service orientated and the occupational structure of the economy undergoes additional changes, support for the capitalist model may increase significantly in years to come.

#### **4.2.3) Values relating to work preferences and goals, 1995-2001**

As mentioned in Chapter two, work preferences and goals influence the manner in which an individual evaluates certain work outcomes and conditions and enables the individual to make choices specific to the work context. Values relating to work preferences and goals derive from individual needs and motives and are therefore greatly influenced by both systemic level and individual level changes.

According to the individualisation thesis, as societies move from conditions of scarcity towards greater affluence and security, intrinsic work goals such as individual achievement and growth



will become paramount. Extrinsic work goals, such as income and job security, will become less influential in informing the choices and decisions made by individuals in the work context.

The data presented in Chapter three, however, indicates that South African work values relating to preferences and goals in the work context remain relatively traditional and that little movement in the direction of individualisation occurred between 1995 and 2001. In 1995, income was regarded as the most important work preference, followed by job security, personal accomplishment and likeable co-workers. The 2001 data reflects a change in the order of value priorities expressed, with job security regarded as the most important job aspect, followed by income, accomplishment and likeable co-workers.

Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of *income* as work preference decreased by 7,2 percent. Although this trend is consistent with the individualisation thesis, income still retains high priority when compared with accomplishment and likeable co-workers. Although real GDP per head has increased from R13 920 in 1995 to R14 162 in 2000 (SARB 2000 as cited in Corrigan, 2001: 148), 45 percent of South Africans continue to live below the poverty line. In a country where poverty remains widespread despite the redistribution of income that has occurred over the last decade, one should expect the importance of income to retain high priority when compared with other work preferences.

In 1995, *job security* was regarded as the second most important job aspect in South Africa. The importance placed on job security is reflective of the poor employment situation present in South Africa throughout the 1990's. Over the last decade the South African labour market has shed nearly one million jobs (Slabber, 2000: 18) and as early as 1992, job security was identified by unions as the most important job aspect to be dealt with. Issues surrounding job security were one of the key points under discussion in the negotiations between South African motor manufacturers and NUMSA (National Union of Metal workers in SA) in 1992 (Smidt, 1992: 20).

Between 1995 and 2001, the importance of *job security* increased by 5 percent, rendering it the most important job aspect amongst South Africans in 2001. The increasing unemployment rate in South Africa and the decrease in traditional forms of full-time permanent employment could arguably be the primary reasons behind this trend.

Over the last decade, South Africa has been plagued by numerous phases of employment losses. The period between 1990 and 1993 was characterised by substantial downsizing, followed by a



period of stabilisation over the next four years. Renewed job losses were imminent from 1997 and have resulted in a 20 percent loss of formal jobs since 1990 (Makgetla, 2001(a): 16). Between 1994 and 2001, unemployment in South Africa increased from 20 percent to 26,4 percent. According to (Slabber, 2000:18) public sector posts fell by 102 000 between 1989 and 1999 and formal non-agricultural private sector posts fell by 780 000 jobs in the same period. The South African Reserve Bank estimates that 104 000 jobs were lost in the first half of 1997, while 186 000 jobs were lost during 1998 and between 1996 and 1998, posts in the public sector fell by 300 000 (Vermeulen and Wiesner, 2000: 387).

The reasons provided for these high levels of unemployment are numerous. According to Iraj Abedian (as cited in Hazelhurst, 2000: 42) "South Africa is becoming a knowledge and services based economy, with greater focus on technology, e-commerce, the Internet and services." The subsequent changes in the markets and economy have resulted in a number of policies that have impacted negatively on employment levels, such as unbundling, downsizing, rightsizing and privatisation (Woodd, 1999: 22 and Yanta, 2001: 13). As a result of globalisation and the volatile international markets that arise therefrom, employers are seeking greater job flexibility through the use of new technologies that reduce the need for full-time labour and introduce alternative forms of working arrangements (Brosnan et al, 2000: 749).

The increased use of alternative forms of working arrangements has also been fuelled by a number of supply side measures. The increasing number of women, students and unemployed seeking employment in the economy has resulted in a larger supply of temporary work, which employers are eager to utilise (Brosnan et al, 2000:749).

A number of socio-political and legislative changes have also resulted in an economic environment that is not predisposed to employment creation. Government regulation and the demands imposed by affirmative action have made it difficult and expensive to dismiss workers. As a result, employers are making increasing use of non-standard forms of employment in order to lower costs and avoid unionisation (Vermeulen and Wiesner, 2000: 387). According to the World Bank (as cited in *The Economist*, 31 October 1998), union membership increased an employees' wages by 35 percent. This wage raising effect decreased the number of jobs in the economy by 6,3 percent. As a result of these strong union pressures, pay raises have outstripped inflation for the past two decades, thereby increasing the financial burden of employers.

The legacy of apartheid has also been blamed for the high unemployment rate in South Africa (*The Economist*, 27 September 1997). The high tariff walls and the sanctions imposed during the period have left the economy run by large conglomerates, which discouraged investors that may have created a number of jobs in the economy.

According to Beck (2000:1) even advanced industrialised societies are suffering under the burden of increasing unemployment rates and the subsequent job insecurity that occurs. He refers to this trend as the “Brazilianization of the West” and argues that:

*The social structure in the heartlands of the West is thus coming to resemble the patchwork quilt of the South, characterized by diversity, unclarity and insecurity in people's work and life.*

According to Beck (2000: 3) well paid, full time employment is on its way out and is likely to be replaced by increased labour market flexibility and the redistribution of risks away from the state and the economy towards the individual.

The data presented in Chapter three, also reflects a slight increase in the importance placed on *likeable co-workers*. Between 1995 and 2001, the importance placed on likeable co-workers increased by four percent. According to Grantham (2000:18) the importance of likeable co-workers should increase with the advent of the knowledge economy. He argues that technology and new forms of organization are forcing individuals to connect more tightly with other communities of people, and that the new world of work should be referred to as the age of collaboration characterised by a loss of power and status structures.

The South African work environment has been characterised by a number of trends that may have increased the importance of likeable co-workers over the last five years. As mentioned in previous paragraphs, South Africa is becoming a more knowledge/service-orientated economy, supported by a number of new technologies and flatter organisational structures. Such structures and technologies would undoubtedly have facilitated broader communication channels within the South African workplace, thereby increasing the importance of likeable colleagues.

The cultural diversity of the South African labour market has also increased dramatically over the last decade. Affirmative action plans and employment equity legislation implemented in 1999 have improved the career opportunities of the previously disadvantaged groupings in South

Africa. As a result, the labour market has been characterised by the influx of women and previously disadvantaged racial groupings. Between 1999 and 2001, the labour force participation rate<sup>5</sup> of women in South Africa rose from 44,2 percent to 54 percent (Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 342; Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 201). Similarly, the labour force participation rate of the Black population group increased from 47,2 percent in 1999 to 57 percent in 2001; the Coloured labour force participation rate increased from 62,5 percent to 65,5 percent; and the Indian labour participation rate increased from 60,8 percent to 62,4 percent (Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 342; Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001:201). As a result, the South African workforce has become increasingly diverse, thereby increasing potential for conflict and the need for more likeable co-workers.

In a study conducted by Hofmeyr (1997: 82) measuring the extent to which employee attitudes have changed between 1994 and 1997, it was concluded that positive employee attitudes towards co-workers have displayed a definite decrease. The percentage of employees that regarded their working relationships as “favourable” decreased by seven percent between 1994 and 1997. According to Hofmeyr, this downward trend can be attributed to a decline in perceptions regarding the extent of co-operation between work groups and departments since 1994. Similarly, the percentage of employees that regarded their working relationships with people of different racial or ethnic groups as favourable also displayed a decline.

This decline in positive employee relations and the increasing emphasis placed on collaboration in the work place has definitely enlarged the need for more likeable co-workers in South Africa.

The data presented in Chapter three displays a slight decline in the importance of *accomplishment* values; a trend in direct opposition to the individualisation thesis. This decrease has undoubtedly occurred as a result of the large increase in the importance placed on job security and likeable co-workers, and should impact negatively on the development of intrinsic work values in South Africa. Although the systemic level changes reflected in Chapter two suggest that South Africans should display an increase in intrinsic work goals, the dismal employment situation may thwart the development of such values. As job security continues to decline and potential for conflict in the workplace increases, South African employees may continue to sacrifice personal growth and development in favour of greater job security.

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<sup>5</sup> The labour force participation rate is the proportion of working aged people (between 15 and 65) that are economically active(employed or unemployed).

#### 4.2.3.1) Work preferences and gender, 1995-2001

The data comparing the importance of work preferences and goals across the various gender groupings, displays slight differences in the strength of value priorities expressed. In 1995, the majority of both male and female respondents regarded *income* as the most important job aspect, followed by *job security*. Male respondents placed slightly more emphasis on both these job aspects, although the difference remains slight. Both male and female respondents regarded *accomplishment* as the third most important job aspect, with male respondents placing slightly more emphasis on this job aspect than their female counterparts. Male and female respondents do, however, differ significantly with regard to the importance placed on *likeable co-workers*. In 1995, female respondents place more than double the importance on likeable co-workers than their male counterparts do.

In 2001, both male and female respondents displayed a decline in the importance placed on *income* as job preference, and an increase in the importance placed on *job security* and *likeable co-workers*. Contrary to expectations, female respondents displayed a greater decline in the importance placed on income than their male counterparts, despite the weaker socio-economic situations in which the majority of South African women find themselves. According to *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa* (1998:92) the percentage of women living in zero income households is higher than that of men, whilst the percentage of women living in top income households is substantially less. Similarly, the poverty rate amongst female-headed households stood at 60 percent in 1999, compared with 31 percent of male-headed households (UNDP, 2000: 63).

Similarly, female respondents displayed a smaller increase with regard to the importance of *job security* than their male counterparts, despite the fact that unemployment levels are substantially higher amongst the female population than the male population. In 1995, the unemployment rate<sup>6</sup> amongst the female population stood at 38 percent, while the male unemployment rate stood at 22,5 percent. In 2001, the female unemployment rate rose to 41 percent, while the male unemployment rate rose to 33,1 percent (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 359; Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213).

In light of the above-mentioned statistics, which are reflective of the systemic level changes to which male and female South Africans have been exposed, one would expect female respondents

to place greater emphasis on income and job security than their male counterparts. This is, however, not the case. According to Woodd (1999:21), women have traditionally occupied jobs that are more characteristic of the jobs associated with the new knowledge economy, rendering them psychologically less susceptible to issues associated with job security. According to the gender socialisation model (Rowe and Snizek, 1995: 215; Smith et al, 1998: 649), however, male and female work value differences can be attributed to gender-role socialisation and that female employees place greater emphasis on relationship values than values associated with competition for rewards. Studies show that while women tend to place greater emphasis on the social aspects of their work, men have displayed greater concern for pay and career advancement (Bartol, 1976; Brief and Aldag, 1975; Schuler, 1975 as cited in Rowe and Snizek, 1995: 217). Similarly, in a study conducted by Betz and O'Connel (as cited in Rowe and Snizek, 1995: 217), men placed greater importance on income, job security and advancement, while women placed greater emphasis on working with people and flexible working hours.

The data presented in Chapter three, suggests that women in South Africa do indeed place greater emphasis on likeable co-workers than do their male counterparts. In both 1995 and 2001, female support for likeable co-workers has been more than double that of their male counterparts. Between 1995 and 2001, both male and female respondents displayed an increase in support for likeable co-workers, although this increase was substantially greater amongst female respondents than male respondents.

According to the structural perspective (Rowe and Snizek, 1995: 215; Smith et al, 1998: 649), work value differences between the genders can be attributed to the characteristics of the work performed by the various gender groupings. Between 1995 and 1999, the proportion of female workers employed in professional and managerial occupations in South Africa has increased significantly compared with that of men (Stats SA 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351; Stats SA 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345). Occupations situated closer to the top of the occupational structure are more likely to be influenced by the new technologies of collaboration typical to the new knowledge economy, and are, as a result, more susceptible to the influence of co-workers than occupations situated towards the bottom of the occupation ladder. The rapid influx of women into these occupations may therefore, have resulted in the significant increase in the importance of likeable co-workers amongst the female respondents.

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<sup>6</sup> According to the expanded definition of unemployment

Contrary to the individualisation thesis, both male and female respondents placed relatively little support on the importance of *accomplishment* as work preference. In 1995, male respondents placed slightly more emphasis on accomplishment than their female counterparts did, thereby displaying greater tendencies towards individualisation. As mentioned earlier, this trend can be explained through reference to the gender socialisation model, which states that male employees should display a greater propensity towards accomplishment values than their female counterparts. The statistics presented in Chapter two, however, suggest that male South Africans may display greater tendencies towards individualisation than their female counterparts, due to the better socio-economic situations in which male South Africans find themselves.

Between 1995 and 2001, however, the data reflects a slight convergence between male and female values relating to accomplishment in the workplace. In 2001, male respondents displayed a slight decline in support for accomplishment values, while female respondents displayed a 0.2 percent increase in support for such values. The decline in support experienced by male respondents can be explained through reference to the large increase in support for security values instead.

South African women have, on the other hand, been afforded greater occupational opportunities since 1995 and have, as a result, experienced a high degree of occupational mobility. Between 1995 and 1999, the percentage of women occupying clerical positions decreased from 31 percent to 28 percent. The percentage of women occupying managerial/professional occupations increased from 21,8 percent to 22,6 percent for the same period, while the percentage of women artisans increased from 8,7 percent to 11,5 percent (SAIRR, 2000). As a result, women should display an increase in accomplishment values as their lower order needs are being met.

#### **4.2.3.2) Work preferences and race, 1995-2001**

When comparing the importance of income across the various racial groupings in South Africa, it becomes evident that the population groups who have borne the brunt of socio-economic shortages over the last decade, place greater emphasis on extrinsic work goals such as income and job security, than those that have not.

In 1995, the White, Black and Coloured racial groupings regarded *income* as the most important job aspect, although the importance placed on this job aspect by Black and Coloured respondents was substantially higher than that of their White and Indian counterparts. As mentioned earlier,



Black and Coloured racial groupings bore the brunt of socio-economic shortages in the apartheid era, and should, as a result, place greater emphasis on extrinsic job aspects. In 1996, Black South Africans owned only 35,7 percent of the national income, while comprising 76,2 percent of the population and Coloured South Africans owned 7,9 percent of the income while comprising 8,6 percent of the population. White South Africans, on the other hand, owned 51,9 percent of the income, while comprising only 12,6 percent of the population and Indian South Africans owned 4,5 percent of the income while comprising only 2,6 percent of the population (Wharton Econometric and Forecasting as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 376).

In 1995, *job security* was regarded by Black, Coloured and White respondents as the second most important job aspect, with White respondents placing substantially less emphasis on this preference than their Black and Coloured counterparts. Indian respondents differed slightly from this trend, since they regarded job security as the most important job aspect, followed by income.

The relatively low importance placed on job security by the White population can be explained through reference to the relatively low unemployment levels amongst this grouping. In 1995, unemployment amongst the White population was relatively low when compared to the unemployment rates of the other population groups. Unemployment amongst the White grouping stood at 2,8 percent, while Blacks had an unemployment rate of 20,7 percent, Coloureds had an unemployment rate of 16,5 percent and Indians had an unemployment rate of 8,3 percent (Dimant, 2001: 214).

*Accomplishment* values were regarded as the third most important job aspect by all racial groupings in 1995. The White population grouping, however, placed substantially greater emphasis on accomplishment values than the other population groupings, thereby displaying a greater tendency towards individualisation. As mentioned in Chapter two, the White population grouping of South Africa was afforded substantially more educational and occupational opportunities than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts, and would, as a result, display greater tendencies towards individualisation. Black respondents, on the other hand, placed substantially less emphasis on accomplishment values than their Indian and Coloured counterparts.

Between 1995 and 2001, all population groups display a decrease in the importance placed on *income*. The percentage of this decrease remained slight for White and Indian respondents, but moderate for Black and Coloured respondents. Between 1990 and 2001, a large proportion of



income was distributed from the previously advantaged White minority into the hands of the disadvantaged Black majority. In 1999, the percentage of White households in the top ten percent of income earners fell from 95 percent to 65 percent, while the percentage of Africans in the same income quartile climbed from 9 percent to 22 percent (Marais, 2001: 201). Similarly, the Black and Coloured component of the South African middle class displayed an increase between 1994 and 2001, while the Indian and White components displayed a decrease (as discussed previously in *Section 4.2.2.1*).

Although the 2001 data reflects a definite racial convergence with regard to the importance placed on income, Black respondents continue to place greater emphasis on income than their counterparts in other racial groupings. Although the statistics reflecting the racial redistribution of income into the hands of Coloured and Black South Africans seem impressive, it must, however, be borne in mind that the racial distribution of income in South Africa is still skewed along racial lines. In 1999, 57 percent of Blacks and 35 percent of Coloureds lived below the poverty line, compared with only 14 percent of Indians and 2,1 percent of Whites (Whiteford, 1999: 32). It can therefore be expected that Black and Coloured respondents place greater emphasis on the importance of income than their White and Indian counterparts.

Between 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings displayed an increase in the importance placed on job security. Statistics presented in Chapter two, conclude that all racial groupings experienced an increase in unemployment between 1995 and 2001- a trend that would undoubtedly affect perception of job security. White and Coloured unemployment rates<sup>7</sup> increased by four percent and five percent respectively; while Indian and Black unemployment rates increased by 9,3 percent and 10,4 percent (SAIRR, 1996z; 359; Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213).

The data presented in Chapter three displays slight differences with regard to *accomplishment* values amongst the various racial groupings. Between 1995 and 2001, White and Indian respondents displayed a decline in support for accomplishment values in favour of job security and likeable co-workers, while Black and Coloured respondents displayed a slight increase in support for accomplishment values. This convergence of accomplishment values reflects the convergence of the socio-economic conditions of the racial groupings in South Africa. Although the employment situation for Blacks and Coloureds in South Africa remains dismal, statistics display vast improvements in education and occupational opportunities. Indian and White respondents have not displayed such significant changes with regards to the socio-economic

conditions in which they find themselves and are suffering under the increasing unemployment rates. A redistribution of values is therefore occurring, as White and Indian respondents place more emphasis on security and likeable co-workers and less importance on accomplishment values.

The data presented in Chapter three suggests that the majority of racial groupings in South Africa have been affected by the increasing cultural diversity of the South African workplace. In 1995, all racial groupings regarded likeable *co-workers* as the least important job aspect. Between 1995 and 2001, however, Black, Indian and White respondents reflected an increase in support for likeable co-workers, while Coloured respondents remained unchanged in the strength of opinions expressed.

#### **4.2.3.3) Work preferences, education and occupation, 1995-2001**

The data presented in chapter three, comparing work preferences across the various occupational and educational groupings reflects a number of differences in the work value priorities of the various groupings. In 1995, all occupational and educational groupings displayed greater support for extrinsic work goals than intrinsic work goals. The importance of income increased as one descended the occupational ladder, with manual workers placing the most importance on income compared with the other occupational groupings. According to the individualisation thesis, individuals or groups of individuals living in conditions of scarcity and insecurity should place greater emphasis on extrinsic work goals. Individuals employed in occupations situated towards the bottom of the occupational ladder, will undoubtedly earn smaller average incomes and therefore display greater support for extrinsic work goals.

Similarly, support for *accomplishment* values increased as one ascended the educational and occupational ladder, with respondents in the professional occupations placing the greatest importance on accomplishment values compared with the other occupational groupings. Due to the better socio-economic conditions in which respondents in the higher occupational and educational categories find themselves, they are able to place greater emphasis on the development of intrinsic work values.

In 1995, support for job security was relatively similar across the various occupational groupings, while office workers placed the greatest emphasis on likeable co-workers when

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<sup>7</sup> According to the expanded definition of unemployment.

compared to the other occupational groupings. According to (Gowen, 1996: 37), affirmative action and employment equity policies implemented after 1994, have resulted in an increasingly diverse workforce, thereby increasing the potential for value conflict within the workplace. The diamond model proposed by Gowen (1996: 37) suggests that during the previous political dispensation, White employees were largely clustered around the top of the occupational structure, while Black and Coloured employees were clustered toward the bottom end of the occupational scale. Accordingly, the occupations situated at the middle of the occupational structure should be more prone to intercultural value conflict and therefore place greater emphasis on likeable co-workers than their counterparts at either end of the occupational scale.

Between 1995 and 2001, respondents within the managerial/supervisory, office worker and manual worker occupations displayed an increase in support for job security as work preference, suggesting that the recent job losses in the South African economy have affected perceptions of job security throughout the occupational structure. The job losses that have resulted over the past five years have occurred at all levels across the occupational structure. According to Hazelhurst (2000: 42)

*top jobs in the declining industries have gone, and large numbers of middle-management jobs are disappearing as companies adapt to the changing economy. And each year there are fewer and fewer jobs at the bottom of the occupational level for people with fewer or no skills.*

According to the data presented in Chapter three, the largest increase in the importance of *job security* can be found amongst manual workers. As mentioned earlier, the industries in which the majority of manual workers are employed are shrinking at a rapid rate. According to Yanta (2001: 13), the high unemployment rate in South Africa can largely be attributed to the massive decline in the agricultural and mining sectors due to the large shifts within these sectors. The manufacturing sector is suffering similar losses in employment due to the significant tariff reductions that have occurred within this sector.

Respondents situated within the professional occupations, however, displayed a decline in the importance placed on job security, probably due to the high number of self-employed individuals within this occupational category.

Accompanying this increase in the importance of job security, is an increase in the importance of income as job aspect amongst the managerial/supervisory, office worker and professional

workers. As a result, support for *accomplishment* values have declined amongst the upper occupational and educational categories, suggesting that the poor employment situation is indeed having an effect on the development of intrinsic work values at the upper spectrum of the occupational and educational ladder. Respondents in the manual worker occupations, however, have displayed a slight increase in support for accomplishment values, signifying a slight convergence of values between the various occupational categories.

Between 1995 and 2001, respondents in the managerial/supervisory, professional and manual worker occupations displayed an increase in support for *likeable co-workers*. Respondents situated in the office worker occupational category display a moderate decline in support for likeable co-workers, despite the strong support they displayed for this work preference in 1995. As mentioned earlier, the increase in support for likeable co-workers can be explained through reference to the entry of previously excluded groups into the South African labour market. According to Statistics South Africa (2001), occupations situated towards the top and the bottom of the occupational ladder display a larger tendency towards occupational mobility than occupations situated towards the middle of the occupational ladder.

Between 1995 and 2001 elementary occupations<sup>8</sup> displayed a decrease in the number of Blacks and Coloureds employed in such occupations, and an increase in the percentage of Whites and Indians employed. Similarly, the managerial and professional occupations<sup>9</sup> displayed an increase in the percentage of Coloured, Indian and White workers employed between 1995 and 1999, thereby increasing the extent of cultural diversity within these occupational groupings and subsequently the potential for intercultural value conflict. The clerical/sales occupations<sup>10</sup>, on the other hand, displayed very little change between 1995 and 1999.

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<sup>8</sup> Between 1995 and 1999, the percentage of Blacks employed in elementary occupations decreased from 40,4 percent to 33,3 percent; the percentage of Coloureds declined from 40 percent to 32,7 percent; the percentage of Indians increased from 6 percent to 7,8 percent; and the percentage of Whites increased from 1,8 percent to 3,3 percent.

<sup>9</sup> Between 1995 and 1999, the percentage of Blacks employed in managerial/professional occupations declined from 14,9 percent to 14,3 percent; the percentage of Coloureds increased from 10 percent to 15,4 percent; the percentage of Indians increased from 29,6 percent to 34 percent; and the percentage of Whites increased from 41,8 percent to 51 percent.

<sup>10</sup> Between 1995 and 1999, the percentage of blacks employed in clerical/sales occupations decreased from 19,6 percent to 19,5 percent; the percentage of Coloureds employed increased from 22,4 percent to 22,7 percent; the

#### 4.2.3.4) Summary and implications for workplace policy and practice:

The data presented in Chapter three suggests that the South African work force has indeed been characterised by a number of changes regarding work preferences and goals. Most notable, is the increase in the importance of job security and likeable co-workers and the subsequent decline in the importance of accomplishment values.

Although the data reflected in Chapter two suggests that South African value priorities should be moving in the direction of individualisation, it appears as though the poor employment situation in South Africa is exerting a negative impact on the development of individualised work values. The increase in support for job security has undoubtedly affected a decrease in support for accomplishment values in the South African workplace. This decrease in support for accomplishment values is especially strong among the social categories that initially displayed stronger tendencies towards individualisation i.e. White and Indian respondents, and respondents situated towards the top of the occupational ladder, a trend that is indicative of the extent to which individualisation can be inhibited through the poor employment situation in South Africa.

Unless adequately addressed by policy makers and human resource practitioners, the increase in support for job security and likeable co-workers may result in a number of unfavourable consequences in the South African workplace. Of primary concern, is the negative impact that these trends may have on the development of growth and accomplishment values in the South African workplace. If the proportion of individuals that place primary importance on job security and likeable co-workers continues to increase, the South African workplace may become characterised by increasing levels of distrust and conflict, thereby inhibiting the development of individualistic work values and the associated increase in productivity.

A workplace characterised by such high levels of insecurity and anxiety will undoubtedly carry a number of negative implications for productivity and employee morale. Recent literature on the implications of job security has expended considerable attention on the effects of the so-called “survivor syndrome” (Vermeulen and Wiesener, 2000: 388; Wiesner et al, 1999: 390; Noer, 1999: 281) on employee performance and morale. According to Vermeulen and Wiesener (2000: 390) the large scale job losses characteristic of the South African economy, do not only impact negatively on the unemployed. Employees that are left behind in organisations that have

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percentage of Indians decreased from 34,9 percent to 33,3 percent; and the percentage of Whites decreased from 34,4 percent to 29,9 percent.

undergone dramatic retrenchments experience feelings of extreme grief, shock, guilt, anger and uncertainty regarding their competence as employees. As a result, organisations suffer a loss of employee trust, commitment, and motivation, which, in turn, alters the terms of the psychological contract between employer and employee. According to Vermeulen and Wiesner (2000: 390), “survivor syndrome involves a decline in organisational commitment, a loss of morale, a lack of trust and a focus on personal security rather than corporate goals.” As a result, companies experience a decline in performance, innovative capacity and organisational learning.

Individuals employed in occupations characterised by a high degree of insecurity avoid risk (Noer, 1999: 281), and subsequently sacrifice the attainment of intrinsic work goals such as personal growth and development, in exchange for extrinsic work goals that ensure greater security and freedom from anxiety. According to Korman (1999: 23) employees working under conditions of extreme insecurity are motivated through efforts of self-protection, rather than personal development and growth. This self-protective motivation is fuelled by the “desire to defend oneself from perceived threatening environmental and personal factors that may affect one’s sense of identity.”

Although the South African economy is characterised by unreasonably high levels of unemployment, it must be borne in mind that the new world of work is characterised by high levels of underemployment and the subsequent feelings of anxiety and insecurity associated with it. Human resource practitioners are therefore faced with the daunting task of reducing these high levels of anxiety and insecurity in order to ensure renewed levels of productivity and motivation. Such action would require the redefinition of the employment contract, as well as the philosophies of paternalism that have formed the basis of the traditional, life-long employment contract in South Africa (Vermeulen and Wiesener, 2000: 390).

Employee and employer will be required to develop a different set of assumptions based on the principle that there is no longer perfect congruence between the interests of the employer and the employed (Korman, 1999: 28). Human resource practitioners will have to facilitate the development of a “flexible workforce” (Woodd, 1999: 22) comprising independent professionals that sell themselves as a business, and not as “organization-dependent” job holders (Korman, 1999: 31). Furthermore, companies will have to empower individuals to take the development of their careers into their own hands; and provide employees with opportunities for continuous learning and multi-skilling. The concept of life-long career and the associated concept of “career dependence” will have to give way to philosophies of “career resilience” and independence



(Woodd, 1999: 22) that focus on the notion of “employability” rather than employment (Callanan et al, 1999: 146).

In addition to extensive training and development programs aimed at individual empowerment, traditional incentive schemes focusing on organisational commitment and promotion will have to be restructured in order to incorporate the principles of the new employment psychological contract.

The increase in the importance placed on job security and the subsequent decrease in importance placed on accomplishment values reflected in the current study, may carry a number of negative implications for employee morale and productivity in South Africa. The challenge for human resource practitioners is, therefore, to replace the anxiety associated with this increase in job insecurity (a permanent fixture of the new world of work) with values that facilitate the development of personal development and growth. Such intervention, would, however, require the re-definition of the traditional employment contract based on life-long permanent employment; an intervention that may prove problematic in the current South African employment context.

As mentioned in previous paragraphs, South African trade unions have pushed the issue of job security to the forefront of labour negotiations. The restrictive labour policies that have been passed in the last couple of years, fulfil the notions of the traditional concept of work. These policies have created a labour market that benefits the employed, not the unemployed and does little to psychologically prepare the South African employee for the insecure world of work that seems inevitable.

As mentioned previously, the increased participation of previously excluded groups in the South African workforce has opened the South African workplace to a number of different value orientations, thereby increasing the potential for conflict in the South African workplace. The increasing subjective importance placed on likeable co-workers between 1995 and 2001, gives testimony to the fact that the increasing diversity of the South African workforce has indeed expanded the potential for conflict and problematic relationships in the South African workplace.

In order to reduce the negative impact that such perceptions may have on working relationships in South Africa, human resource practitioners will have to improve the scope and influence of diversity management programs. As mentioned in previous paragraphs, occupations situated



towards the top of the occupational ladder are becoming increasingly susceptible to differing value orientations, and should therefore be the focus of improved cultural diversity programs.

#### **4.2.4) Work values relating to authority in the workplace**

The poor employment situation in South Africa and the resultant perceptions of insecurity that characterise the South African labour market, have undoubtedly also affected the nature of work values relating to authority in the workplace. According to the individualisation thesis, the new knowledge economy implies less acceptance of traditional systems of authority as occupations become increasingly knowledge intensive and individual employees are empowered through greater levels of personal autonomy.

The data presented in Chapter three, however, suggests that South African work values relating to authority are displaying a slight shift in favour of traditional systems of authority characteristic of the industrial economy.

In 1995, respondents were relatively evenly distributed between the two response categories, with slightly more respondents asserting that one should first be convinced before following an employer's instructions. In 2001, support for both response categories increased, although the data reflects a slight shift in favour of traditional systems of authority.

The systemic level changes explored in Chapter two suggest, however, that South African work values relating to authority should display a slight shift in favour of individualised work values. The economy has become increasingly knowledge intensive, following the rapid expansion of the tertiary sector (SARB, 1999 as cited in Institute for Futures Research, 2000: 6/33)) and new forms of participatory management have accompanied the democratisation of the South African workplace (Webster, 1999: 3). Educational levels have improved, and general levels of affluence have increased. Despite these positive systemic changes, work values relating to authority in South Africa have become increasingly traditional. The high levels of unemployment and the increasing entry of previously excluded groups into the South African labour market that have rendered the workplace increasingly competitive, may have contributed to this trend.

As mentioned earlier, employees concentrated in industries where job security is continually threatened, suffer from "survivor sickness" characterised by "fear, insecurity, uncertainty, frustration, resentment, anger, sadness, depression, guilt, injustice, betrayal and distrust" (Noer,

1999: 281). As a result, such employees employ two primary coping mechanisms i.e. the avoidance of risk and diminished productivity. According to Wiesner and Vermeulen (2000: 390) individuals that are left to feel the brunt of large scale retrenchment programs became “afraid to put a foot wrong”, rendering them extremely cautious, conservative and susceptible to traditional systems of authority.

The study conducted by Karl Hofmeyr (1997: 89) measuring the change in employee attitudes between 1994 and 1997, suggests that employee attitudes towards authority have indeed deteriorated since 1994. According to Hofmeyr, fewer employees felt that their supervisors recognised them for work well done, while the percentage of employees that felt their superiors were receptive to suggested changes also displayed a decline. Similarly, employee perceptions of management have become increasingly negative since 1994. Less than half of respondents surveyed in Hofmeyr’s study felt that management was interested in their well-being, while four out of ten respondents felt that the decisions made by management are fair. Half of the respondents surveyed asserted that they did not believe what management said. It is clear therefore, that South African employee perceptions are indeed characterised by high degrees of distrust and dissatisfaction, which may be affecting a shift towards more traditional systems of authority in the workplace.

#### **4.2.4.1) Authority and gender, 1995-2001**

When comparing work values relating to authority across the various gender groupings, slight differences are evident. In 1995, the majority of male respondents displayed slightly stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than the majority of female respondents. This may be explained through reference to the relatively privileged position afforded men in the South African labour market and occupational structure due to the strong patriarchal tendencies in the South African society. In 1995, South African women predominantly occupied professions situated towards the middle of the occupational structure (Stats SA, 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351) and were largely concentrated in the service, retail and manufacturing sector, thereby engaging in jobs traditionally associated with the stereotyped domestic role of the female (Commission on Gender Equality, 1999: 9). As a result, female employees in South Africa were rendered extremely susceptible to traditional systems of authority in the workplace.

Between 1995 and 2001, however, the labour force participation rate of South African women increased significantly and the proportion of women occupying positions situated towards the

top of the occupational structure swelled (Stats SA, 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 201). But despite these improvements in the representation of women in the South African economy, female respondents continued to display an increase in support for traditional systems of authority between 1995 and 2001. Between 1995 and 2001, female respondents displayed a seven percent increase in support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace, while male respondents remained relatively unchanged in the order of value priorities expressed.

At first glance, this trend may be explained through reference to the high unemployment rate of South African women and the subsequent high levels of insecurity experienced. Between 1995 and 2001, female unemployment in South Africa increased from 38 percent to 41 percent<sup>11</sup> (Stats SA, 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 359; Stats SA 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213). Although the female unemployment rates are high compared with that of their male counterparts, the increase in the female unemployment rate is not nearly as high as that of male South Africans. Between 1995 and 2001, unemployment rate amongst male South Africans increased from 22,8 percent to 33,1 percent<sup>12</sup> (Stats SA, 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 359; Stats SA, 2001 as cited in SAIRR, 2001: 213). Despite these increasing levels of unemployment, male respondents remained relatively unchanged in the order of value priorities expressed.

When referring to male and female perceptions of job security discussed in previous sections, both male and female respondents displayed a similar increase in support for job security between 1995 and 2001, while only female respondents display an increase in support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace. It therefore seems evident that factors other than perceptions of increased job insecurity and the associated feelings of distrust and discomfort are at play in determining female values relating to authority in the workplace.

A number of cultural factors may be responsible for women's changing perceptions of authority in the workplace. South Africa can traditionally be regarded as a strong patriarchal society, where women have been afforded substantially less economic and occupational opportunities. With the implementation of the Employment Equity Act and the subsequent Affirmative Action programs, vast improvements have been made with regards the representation of women in the South African workplace. According to the Commission on Gender Equality (1999), however, women are continually relegated to the lower levels of the management structure and therefore still bear the brunt of a traditionally male dominated workplace. The upward mobility into

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<sup>11</sup> According to the expanded definition of unemployment

<sup>12</sup> According to the expanded definition of unemployment

occupations traditionally filled by men afforded to a large proportion of South African women over the last five years, may however, have subjected an increasing number of women to even stronger patriarchal tendencies in the workplace. Although the proportion of women occupying managerial and professional posts has increased from 20,2 percent in 1995 to 22,2, percent in 1999 (Stats SA) these occupations remain male-dominated (Stats SA, 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345). The South African occupational structure is therefore characterised by an influx of women into occupations situated towards the top of the occupational structure, where strong patriarchal tendencies prevail. If not managed properly, such trends could inhibit the development of individualised work values amongst female employees in South Africa.

#### **4.2.4.2) Authority and race, 1995-2001**

When comparing work values relating to authority across the various racial groupings in South Africa, a number of interesting differences arise. In 1995, only the White population group displayed strong tendencies towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Black respondents were relatively equally divided amongst the two response categories, while the majority of Coloured respondents placed slightly more emphasis on individualised work values relating to authority. The majority of Indian respondents placed substantially greater emphasis on individualised work values than the other racial groupings.

These trends may once again be indicative of the legacy of labour relations practised in South Africa. As mentioned in Chapter two, labour relations in South Africa were traditionally characterised by a political chasm between White and previously disadvantaged South Africans. The White upper classes practised business according to the ideology of a racially exclusive capitalism, while the majority of Black and Coloured South Africans supported a form of racial democracy in reaction (Human, 1991: 96; Bendix, 1996:74). The White businesses of the apartheid era were therefore characterised by extreme conservatism and authoritarianism (Human, 1991: 96) often referred to as “racial despotism” or “racial fordism”(Webster, 1999: 32), hence the strong tendency towards traditional systems of authority reflected in 1995. The business ideology of the majority of Indian, Coloured and Black South Africans was, however, characterised by inclusivity and participation.

Between 1995 and 2001, Black and Indian respondents displayed a shift towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace. White and Coloured respondents, however, reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values. This trend can largely be explained through

reference to the increasing levels of unemployment amongst the Black and Indian population groups and the subsequent decrease in the levels of job security associated with these high levels of unemployment. Between 1995 and 2001, unemployment levels amongst the Black and Indian population groups were substantially higher than the unemployment levels experienced by the White and Coloured population groups (*as discussed in paragraph 8 of Section 4.2.3.2*). This high increase in unemployment may therefore have resulted in an increase in support of traditional systems of authority in the workplace amongst these population groups.

#### **4.2.4.3) Authority, education and occupation, 1995-2001**

According to the data presented in 1995, respondents in the managerial/supervisory, professional and office worker occupations displayed stronger support for individualised systems of authority in the workplace than their counterparts in the manual occupational groupings. Similarly, respondents with no education displayed a stronger tendency towards traditional systems of authority than their more highly educated counterparts. Between 1995 and 2001, however, respondents in the managerial/supervisor professions displayed a moderate increase in support for individualised systems of authority, suggesting that these professions have indeed become increasingly knowledge intensive. Furthermore, employment opportunities in these professions have displayed a definite increase between 1995 and 1999. According to Statistics South Africa, the number of people employed as legislators, senior officials and managers increased from 586 000 in 1995, to 684 000 in 1999 (Stats SA, 1995 as cited in SAIRR, 1996: 351; Stats SA, 1999 as cited in SAIRR, 2000: 345).

Between 1995 and 2001, manual workers have also displayed a slight shift in favour of individualised systems of authority in the workplace despite the increasing levels of unemployment amongst this occupational grouping. This increase in individualised work values may therefore be explained through the increasing use of participatory forums introduced into the South African industry (Webster, 1999: 32) and the strong presence of trade unionism amongst this occupational grouping.

Respondents situated in the professional workers category display a strong shift towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace between 1995 and 2001, despite the fact that employment has increased dramatically since 1995 among this employment category. Similarly, office workers display a slight shift in favour of traditional systems of authority in the workplace; although this trend can be explained through reference to the increasing levels of

unemployment amongst this occupational grouping. Between 1995 and 1999, the number of clerks in the South African economy decreased from 1 220 000 to 1 071 000. Likewise, the percentage of clerical workers in the South African economy decreased from 23,4 percent in 1995 to 22,4 percent in 1999.

#### **4.2.4.4) Summary and implications for workplace policy and practice**

The poor employment situation in South Africa and the subsequent feelings of insecurity associated with this trend has undoubtedly affected the perceptions of authority in the South African workplace. Women employees in particular, seem highly susceptible to this trend, displaying an increase in support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Human resource practitioners need to address the gender issues affecting women in the South African workplace in order to ensure the development of intrinsic work values amongst female employees is not thwarted due to feelings of increased anxiety and insecurity.

Social categories defined by race are similarly affected. Black and Indian respondents display trends towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace; a trend that seems to be influenced by the unemployment situation within these population groups. As mentioned in previous paragraphs, human resource practitioners and policy makers will need to create workplace policies that buffer the effects of increasing levels of insecurity so as to ensure the development of intrinsic work goals in South Africa. Those occupational groupings affected by high levels of unemployment and uncertainty, should provide a starting point for such interventions.

#### **4.7) Conclusion:**

The systemic level changes discussed in Chapter two have undoubtedly had an impact on the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. Work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organisation have displayed a shift in the direction of individualisation. Work values relating to work preferences and authority in the work place have, however, displayed a shift in the direction of traditional values characteristic of the industrial economy.

As mentioned earlier, the work value changes that characterise the South African labour market carry significant implications for the South African workforce. Human resource practitioners

and policy makers will have to address these implications so as to reduce the anxiety, frustration and fear that accompanies many of these changes.

The final chapter (Chapter five) will conclude the current study with a brief overview of the progression of the study and will include a synopsis of the theoretical background that formed the basis of the study; a summary of the most significant findings and suggestions for future research.



## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUDING REMARKS

*Only when all passive toil at machines has been successfully done away with, will human creativity be free to answer in detail all the questions of the second modernity (Beck, 2000: 179).*

### 5.1) Introduction

The current study commenced with a discussion concerning the work value shift experienced by a number of advanced Western democracies. According to Inglehart and Baker (2000: 49) processes of modernisation and informationalisation carry pervasive implications for both culture and society. Advanced industrial societies are marked by cultural shifts away from traditional value systems, towards values that emphasise individual autonomy, freedom, self-development and growth. Such cultural shifts are, however, not exclusive to advanced industrial democracies. As mentioned in Chapter two, a number of developing countries have also experienced slight cultural shifts in the direction of individualization (Inglehart and Baker, 2001: 41).

In a similar vein, Beck (1992) and Bauman (2000) argue that processes of modernisation initiate a process of individualization, characterised by a “structural, sociological transformation of social institutions and the relationship of the individual to society” (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002: 202). As a result, societies display a culture shift towards values that are increasingly ego-centric, a-historical and private.

According to Inglehart (1997: 51) societies are affected through two types of value change. Short-term value change occurs as a result of systemic or macro level changes that have affected the context in which the individual finds him- or herself. In such instances, values are, to a large extent derived from a system of needs, where individuals place the greatest subjective importance on those needs that are in short supply. Processes of socialisation, however, initiate long-term value change, where an individual’s basic values reflect the conditions to which that person was exposed during their formative years.

Work values are no exception to this process. As expressions of general life values within the work context, work values are also transformed through processes of individualisation. The macro-level developments discussed in Chapter two have exerted a fundamental influence on the world of work, radically transforming processes of workplace socialisation. As a result, work

values that stress personal growth, development and self-determination are emphasised, while values that focus on material success, comfort and status decrease.

South Africa has undergone a number of systemic level changes over the last decade, which have the capacity to initiate a process of work value change in the country<sup>1</sup>. These changes include economic development, rising levels of affluence, rising levels of human development and education. Changing workplace policies and practices have rendered the South African business environment more egalitarian and representative of the various population groups, and changes in the occupational and sectoral structure of the economy reflect a definite shift towards a more service, knowledge orientated economy. Furthermore, mass communication systems have been radically extended, and a number of gender developments reflect the breakdown of traditional gender roles in society.

In the light of the above-mentioned systemic level developments, we expected South Africans to undergo a work value change in the direction of individualisation. The nature and strength of this value change would, however, differ with regard to the social categories defined by race, gender, educational level and occupational level. As mentioned earlier, South Africans have been exposed to and socialised within vastly different social, economic, cultural and political environments that would undoubtedly influence the formation of work values differently.

The study therefore set out to examine the nature, direction and strength of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001, in order to ascertain the relevance of the individualisation thesis for work value change in South Africa. Furthermore, the study attempted to analyse the distribution of this work value change in terms of the various social categories defined by race, gender, education and occupational level, in order to ascertain the implications that such value patterns hold for the management of cultural diversity and workplace policy and practice in South Africa.

Using data from the 1990, 1995 and 2001 components of the South African World Values Survey, we set out to examine the nature, direction and strength of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. Work values were measured in terms of four orientations, namely:

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<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in Chapter one, we by no means suggest that South Africa be described as an advanced industrial society. Research suggests however, that a number of developing countries have displayed some movement towards values that are expressive of individual freedom and growth (Inglehart and Baker, 2000: 41). The systemic level

- Work centrality (the position of work relative to other life domains)
- Work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation
- Work values relating to work preferences and goals
- Work values relating to systems of authority in the workplace

The study was informed by the following propositions and sub-propositions:

- The South African population should display a gradual shift in work values towards a more individualised, modern orientation towards work in the periods 1990-2001
  - Both male and female respondents should display a shift towards more individualised work values between 1990 and 2001, although male respondents should display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their female counterparts.
  - All racial groupings in South Africa should display a shift towards more individualised work values between 1990 and 2001, although White respondents should display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts.
  - Respondents in the higher educational groupings should display stronger support for individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower educational categories.
  - Respondents in the higher occupational groupings should display stronger support for individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational categories.

The results of the data analysis yield interesting findings with regards to the nature direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa. Work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organisation displayed a definite shift in the direction of individualization. Work values relating to work preferences and authority, however, displayed a shift towards traditional value orientations.

But cultural change does not always necessarily follow a simple linear path. According to Inglehart and Baker (2000: 21):

*different societies follow different trajectories even when they are subjected to the same forces of economic development, in part because situation-specific factors, such as cultural heritage, also shape how a particular society develops.*

The data comparing work value change across the various social categories defined by gender, race, educational and occupational level illustrates this fact.

## **5.2) Summary of results**

The following provides a summary of the most significant finding of the study:

### **1. Work values relating to work centrality:**

Work values relating to work centrality display a shift in the direction of individualised work values, as the importance of family relative to work has increased slightly for the entire sample.

Both male and female respondents display a shift towards individualised work values relating to work centrality. This shift is, however, greater among male respondents, who displayed a stronger increase in support of family compared with the female respondents.

Black, White and Indian respondents display a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values between 1990 and 2001. All these groupings display a decrease in the importance placed on work and an increase in the importance placed on the family. Coloured respondents, however, remained unchanged with regard to the position of the family and placed increasing importance on the position of work.

Respondents in the managerial/supervisory and professional occupational categories displayed stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their counterparts in the lower occupational groupings. Respondents in the managerial/supervisory and professional categories displayed a slight shift towards individualised work values relating to work centrality; whilst respondents in the office worker and manual occupations displayed a slight shift in opposition to individualization.

## 2. Work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation:

Respondents display a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation between 1990 and 2001.

Both male and female respondents reflect a shift in the direction of individualised work values, although male respondents do reflect stronger tendencies towards individualised values than do their female counterparts.

All racial groupings displayed a shift in the direction of individualised work values relating to the distribution of power in the organisation. White respondents, however, display stronger tendencies towards individualised work values than their Indian, Black and Coloured counterparts.

Between 1990 and 2001, all educational and occupational groupings became more individualised in their orientations towards the distribution of power in the organisation. Respondents with a university education and those occupying managerial and professional occupations reflect stronger tendencies towards individualised values than their counterparts lower down the occupational and educational ladder.

## 3. Work values relating to job preferences and goals:

In both 1995 and 2001 the majority of respondents regarded extrinsic work goals as the most important, thereby reflecting strong tendencies towards traditional work goals. Between 1995 and 2001, support for job security and likeable co-workers increased, whilst support for accomplishment and income decreased.

Between 1995 and 2001, both male and female respondents reflected a decrease in support for income in favour of an increase in support for job security and likeable co-workers. Female respondents do, however, place substantially greater support on likeable co-workers than their male counterparts do.

Between 1995 and 2001, all racial groupings displayed a decrease in support for income and an increase in support for job security. White, Indian and Black respondents displayed an increase in support for likeable co-workers, whilst Coloured respondents remained

unchanged. White and Indian respondents displayed a decline in support for accomplishment values, reflecting a moderate shift in opposition to individualised work values. Black and Coloured respondents, however, displayed an increase in support for accomplishment values. White respondents do, however, still display stronger support for accomplishment values than their Indian, Coloured and Black counterparts.

Between 1995 and 2001, all educational groupings displayed a decrease in support for accomplishment values, reflecting a shift away from individualised work values.

In both 1995 and 2001, respondents in the managerial and professional occupations displayed stronger support for accomplishment values than their counterparts in the lower occupational groupings. Between 1995 and 2001, however, respondents in the managerial, professional and office worker occupations displayed a decrease in support for accomplishment values. Respondents in the managerial, office worker and manual worker occupations increased support for job security, while respondents in the managerial, professional and manual occupations increased support for likeable co-workers.

#### 4. Work values relating to systems of authority in the workplace:

Between 1995 and 2001, respondents displayed a slight shift towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace

Between 1995 and 2001, male respondents displayed a slight shift in the direction of individualised work values, whilst female respondents reflected a moderate shift towards traditional work values relating to authority.

In both 1995 and 2001, White and Black respondents displayed stronger support for traditional systems of authority in the workplace than for individualised systems of authority. Between 1995 and 2001, however, White respondents reflect a slight shift towards individualised work values, whilst Black respondents reflect a slight shift towards traditional systems of authority. Indian respondents displayed a strong shift towards traditional systems of authority, whilst Coloured respondents displayed a moderate shift towards individualised systems of authority in the workplace.

The various educational groupings display differing trends with regard to authority between 1995 and 2001. In 1995, respondents with a university degree or other post-matric qualification displayed strong tendencies towards individualised systems of authority in the workplace. Between 1995 and 2001, however, these education groupings displayed a strong shift towards traditional systems of authority in the workplace. Respondents with only a matric qualification displayed strong support for individualised values in 1995, and increased this support towards 2001. Respondents with only a primary education displayed a slight shift towards traditional work values, while respondents with no education reflected a shift in the direction of individualised work values.

Respondents in the managerial, professional and office worker occupations reflected strong tendencies in favour of individualised work values in 1995. Professional and office workers, however, displayed a shift towards traditional values between 1995 and 2001, while respondents in the managerial occupations increased support for individualised work values. The majority of respondents in the manual worker occupations supported traditional systems of authority in 1995, but reflected a slight shift towards individualised systems of authority in 2001.

The value patterns expressed by the South African population reflect the changing economic, social and political landscape of South Africa. In some instances these changes have propelled certain sub-groups of the population towards the realisation of individualised work values characterised by a desire for self-development, individual freedom and growth. In other instances, however, the systemic level changes have plunged a number of sub-groups in the direction of traditional work values, characterised by the need for greater job security, comfort and status.

The high and increasing levels of unemployment in South Africa, and the entry of women and previously excluded racial groupings into the South African labour market can be regarded as the most prolific changes to affect the South African business environment. The increasing levels of unemployment have forced the majority of the South African population to place increasing emphasis on the importance of job security, rendering the fulfilment of accomplishment values less important. The increasing entry of previously excluded groups of the South African population has dramatically increased the cultural diversity of the South African labour force, resulting in a greater propensity for inter-cultural value conflict. The fact that the majority of respondents expressed an increase in support for likeable co-workers is illustrative of this fact. Similarly, the increasing participation of women in the South African labour force; especially in



those occupations situated toward the top of the occupational structure, appears to be rendering an increasing number of women susceptible to traditional forms of authority in the workplace and may thwart the development of individualised work values amongst these groupings.

Should the trend toward traditional values relating to work preferences and authority persist, the development of individualised work values may continue to be hindered. Such a trend could prove devastating to the South African business environment. As South African businesses continue along the path of globalisation, informationalisation and professionalisation, employees who are unhindered by extrinsic considerations will be increasingly called upon. If the number of employees placing primary importance on traditional work values continues to swell, South African businesses will be faced with a shortage of employees suited to the new knowledge economy. The fact that those respondents most affected by a decline in support for accomplishment values belong to those sub-groups of the population that traditionally displayed a strong propensity towards individualised work values i.e. male, White, Indian, managerial and professional respondents, proves even more worrisome and suggests the extent to which insecurity and anxiety have penetrated the South African business environment.

As mentioned in Chapter one, the management of cultural diversity programs has been at the forefront of human resource strategies and policies for the last decade. The increasing importance placed on likeable co-workers illustrates a need among South African employees towards greater harmony and trust in the workplace, and subsequently a need for more appropriate cultural diversity management programs. Literature on cultural diversity in South Africa has to a large extent been pre-occupied with racial considerations based on the assumption that business cultures in South Africa are informed by either an Afro-centric approach to management, or a Euro-centric approach. Such theories suggest that value conflict in the workplace can be adequately addressed by reconciling these two approaches.

The data presented by the current study suggests that although the various racial groupings in South Africa do differ with regard to the strength of support expressed for the various value orientations, the direction of this support suggests a slight convergence of value orientations in a number of instances. The data therefore reflects that as the various sub-groups of the population are exposed to the systemic level changes characteristic of the new South Africa, traditional value differences informed by race and gender will be radically transformed and replaced by new value patterns untainted by the inequalities of the apartheid era.

### 5.3) Suggestions for future research

As mentioned in Chapter one, the current study took the form of a descriptive, quantitative analysis where the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001 was presented and analysed. A descriptive study, however, does not present the capacity to provide an explanatory framework for the findings revealed. Chapter four embarked on a discussion of the findings presented, and provided tentative explanations for the findings revealed, based on the systemic level changes discussed in Chapter two. It must be borne in mind, however, that these explanations are not as yet grounded in quantitative research and should therefore be seen as tentative explanations for the phenomena observed and described in the current study. It would be the task of future research to validate the explanations provided in Chapter four, based on empirical causal analysis of the factors provided. This would require that the categorical data used in the current study be re-coded into interval data so that regression analysis could be performed.

Because the current study lacks empirical explanatory power, it cannot adequately distinguish between cultural factors determined by the process of socialisation on the one hand, and contextual, situation factors on the other. The aim of future research should therefore be to ascertain the extent to which cultural factors, such as race and gender, impact upon work value change in South Africa. Such research would require that one control for situational factors such as income, educational and occupational level etc. in order to determine the precise explanatory power of cultural variables defined by race and gender.

As mentioned in Chapter one, processes of value change prove problematic to measure due to the fact that they occur slowly and fail to yield highly sensationalistic results (Inglehart, 1977: 22). A study examining the process of value change over 11 years would therefore detect only fragmentary changes that may hint towards more substantial value change in the long term. Such a study would therefore fail to ascertain the extent of long-term intergenerational value change. Further research could therefore include the demographic variable of age, to determine the extent of longer-term intergenerational value change among the various age cohorts, and in so doing, distinguish between period and cohort effects.

An analysis of the extent of value convergence between the various sub-groups of the South African population defined by race and gender would also prove possible through future research. Such analysis would require that the categorical data used in the current study be

recoded into interval data, so as to allow for the comparison of means. Such analysis would allow the researcher to plot value change along a continuum, rendering comparisons between the various sub-groups of the population more reliable.

Chapter four provided a number of implications associated with the work value change experienced in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. Future research measuring the causal relationship between these implications and work value change could prove invaluable to the human resource practitioner and policy maker. Such research could, for instance, measure the extent to which an increase in the importance of job security would affect perceptions of motivation and job satisfaction

#### **5.4) Conclusion**

It is hoped that the current study has provided the reader with an accurate, empirically researched description of the nature, direction and distribution of work value change in South Africa between 1990 and 2001. In some instances the South African population is indeed moving towards individualised work values characteristic of those experienced by advanced industrial economies. Work values relating to work centrality and the distribution of power in the organisation have displayed a slight shift towards individualised modern values characteristic of the information economy. In other instances however, the South African society has displayed a slight shift in opposition to individualisation, placing increasing support on traditional work values reflective of the industrial economy and society.

It appears that the high and increasing levels of unemployment in the South African economy is largely to blame for the shift towards traditional work values. As mentioned earlier, however, underemployment seems to be a characteristic of the new knowledge economy, and is unlikely to improve in years to come. Employee perceptions of unemployment and job security should, however, be transformed in order to reduce the negative impact that such systemic level factors could have on the South African workplace. Human resource practitioners and policy makers are therefore faced with the challenging task of reframing individual perceptions surrounding the meaning of work, so as to better equip the South African employee for the changing world of work, which seems inevitable.

## APPENDIX A

## Gender and Race (Numbers), 1990

	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
<b>Male</b>	152	551	26	100	829
<b>Female</b>	219	549	25	100	893
<b>Total</b>	371	1100	51	200	1722

## Gender and Race (Numbers), 1995

	White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
	359	786	95	195	1435
<b>Female</b>	366	806	101	191	1464
<b>Total</b>	725	1592	196	386	2899

## Gender, race and educational level (Numbers), 1995

		White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Total
<b>None</b>	<b>Male</b>		278	9	43	330
	<b>Female</b>		293	13	45	351
	<b>Total</b>		571	22	88	681
<b>Primary</b>	<b>Male</b>	67	377	41	106	591
	<b>Female</b>	78	390	56	99	623
	<b>Total</b>	145	767	97	205	1214
<b>Secondary</b>	<b>Male</b>	145	96	32	31	304
	<b>Female</b>	178	88	24	34	324
	<b>Total</b>	323	184	56	65	628
<b>Post Matric</b>	<b>Male</b>	75	16	7	6	104
	<b>Female</b>	43	13	4	3	63
	<b>Total</b>	118	29	11	9	167
<b>University</b>	<b>Male</b>	72	19	6	9	106
	<b>Female</b>	67	22	4	10	103
	<b>Total</b>	139	41	10	19	209

**Gender, race and occupational level (Numbers), 1995**

		<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Coloured</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Supervisory</b>	<b>Male</b>	141	30	25	17	213
	<b>Female</b>	82	22	14	5	123
	<b>Total</b>	223	52	39	22	336
<b>Professional</b>	<b>Male</b>	72	30	9	11	122
	<b>Female</b>	80	36	6	18	140
	<b>Total</b>	152	66	15	29	262
<b>Office</b>	<b>Male</b>	16	20	5	4	45
	<b>Female</b>	111	15	8	18	152
	<b>Total</b>	127	35	13	22	197
<b>Manual</b>	<b>Male</b>	77	446	46	139	708
	<b>Female</b>	15	408	28	103	554
	<b>Total</b>	92	854	74	242	1262

**Gender and Race, (Numbers) 2001**

	<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Coloured</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Male</b>	452	651	151	246	1500
<b>Female</b>	447	652	148	253	1500
<b>Total</b>	899	1303	299	499	3000

**Gender, race and educational level (Numbers), 2001**

		<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Coloured</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>None</b>	<b>Male</b>	1	171	14	33	219
	<b>Female</b>		172	24	36	232
	<b>Total</b>	1	343	38	69	451
<b>Primary</b>	<b>Male</b>	95	317	65	128	605
	<b>Female</b>	122	319	55	139	635
	<b>Total</b>	217	636	120	267	1240
<b>Secondary</b>	<b>Male</b>	178	114	57	58	407
	<b>Female</b>	184	117	49	57	407
	<b>Total</b>	362	231	106	115	814
<b>Post Matric</b>	<b>Male</b>	60	12		7	79
	<b>Female</b>	44	7	8	3	62
	<b>Total</b>	104	19	8	10	141
<b>University</b>	<b>Male</b>	118	37	15	20	190
	<b>Female</b>	97	37	12	18	164
	<b>Total</b>	215	74	27	38	354

**Gender, race and occupational level (Numbers), 2001**

		<b>White</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Coloured</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Supervisory</b>	<b>Male</b>	147	20	23	25	23
	<b>Female</b>	124	12	13	13	13
	<b>Total</b>	271	32	36	38	36
<b>Professional</b>	<b>Male</b>	74	24	9	17	9
	<b>Female</b>	57	21	15	20	15
	<b>Total</b>	131	45	24	37	24
<b>Office</b>	<b>Male</b>	31	17	18	14	18
	<b>Female</b>	91	25	14	31	14
	<b>Total</b>	122	42	32	45	32
<b>Manual</b>	<b>Male</b>	142	377	78	152	78
	<b>Female</b>	66	274	34	131	34
	<b>Total</b>	208	651	112	283	112

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